RE-MEMBERING NORRIDGEWOCK

STORIES AND POLITICS OF A PLACE MULTIPLE

A Dissertation

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This dissertation is an ethnography of place-making at Norridgewock, the site of a famous Wabanaki village in western Maine that was destroyed by a British militia in 1724. I examine how this site is variously enacted as a place of Wabanaki survivance and erasure and ask, how is it that a particular place with a particular history can be mobilized in different and even contradictory ways? I apply Annemarie Mol's (2002) analytic concept of the body multiple to place to examine how utilize practices of storytelling, remembering, gathering, producing knowledge, and negotiating relationships to variously enact Norridgewock as a place multiple. I consider the multiple, overlapping, coexistent, and contradictory enactments of place and engagements with knowledge that shape place-worlds in settler colonial nation-states. Rather than taking these different enactments of place to be different perspectives on or versions of place, I examine how these enactments are embedded in and shaped by hierarchies of power and politics that produce enactments of place that are at times parallel and at times contradictory. Place-making is especially political in the context of settler colonialism, where indigenous places, histories, and peoples are erased in order to be replaced (Wolfe 2006; O'Brien 2010). I consider how the social hierarches set up through settler colonialism make some enactments of place appear to be more important than others, or even appear *as if* they are the only enactments at all, rendering other ways of experiencing, knowing, and being in this place irrelevant or invisible. Using a decolonial approach, I unsettle the enactments of this place that produce and reproduce Wabanaki erasure narratives and show how, through stories, memories, and practices of gathering, Wabanaki peoples enact Norridgewock as simultaneously a site of violence and a site of their survivance and hope for the future.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ashley Elizabeth Smith calls Maine's Upper Kennebec River Valley home. She and her younger sister Kailey were raised in the small papermill town of Madison, Maine by their parents Liz and Walter and their extended family. Ashley's roots in this place run deep; her family has called this place home for multiple generations, since returning to the region that some of her grandfather's ancestors had called home before they removed to the Jesuit mission villages of Nouvelle France to distance themselves from the English colonists. Ashley is deeply connected to her French and Wabanaki ancestry and is dedicated to unpacking the histories of violence, resistance, and survivance that shape northeastern North America.

Ashley graduated from Madison High School in 2004. In 2008, she earned a B.A. in anthropology and French Studies from Wheaton College in southeastern Massachusetts. After college, she spent a year studying Abenaki connections to homeland and Abenaki music traditions in Sherbrooke, Quebec, supported by a Fulbright Canada fellowship. In 2009, she entered the PhD program in anthropology and the American Indian Program at Cornell University. She completed her M.A. in anthropology in 2013 and returned to Maine to pursue the research that led to this dissertation. In 2015, she received a dissertation fellowship through the Gettysburg Consortium of Faculty Diversity and moved to Minnesota to teach and write as a Scholar-In-Residence Fellow in the American Studies Program. In 2017, she began a full-time position as Assistant Professor in Native American Studies and Environmental Justice in the School of Critical Social Inquiry at Hampshire College.

For the women who have supported and challenged me, who have guided and mentored me, and who have made it possible for me to be where I am today; and especially for my mother and sister, whose strength and caring know no bounds. Thank you.

To the Nanrantsouak people, past, present, and future – these stories are yours.

kchi wolioni,
all my relations

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JR	Jesuit Relations
Maine TRC	Maine Truth and Reconciliation Commission
MaHS	Massachusetts Historical Society
MeHS	Maine Historical Society
MHPC	Maine Historic Preservation Commission
MITSC	Maine Indian Tribal-State Commission
NAIS	Native American and Indigenous Studies
NAISA	Native American and Indigenous Studies Association
NHL	National Historic Landmark
NRHP	National Register of Historic Places
REACH	Maine-Wabanaki Reconciliation Engagement Advocacy Change Healing

INTRODUCTION

Just on the southern edge of the town of Madison, Maine, down Father Rasle Road, across the railroad tracks on the east bank of the Kennebec River, sits an old picnic area amid tall red and white pines. The sun filters through the trees in patches, under which young pine, oak, and maple are taking root. Old and new granite picnic tables and crumbling fire pits are scattered about and the river rushes and babbles just beyond the trees that cover the steep bank. The picnic area is separated from the road by large boulders and signs notify visitors that motorized vehicles are not permitted inside. Other signs posted on trees disallow camping and ground disturbance and declare that this place is eligible for the National Registry of Historic Places. Halfway down, a gravel wheelchair-accessible path leads visitors through the thick underbrush into the picnic area. At the entrance to this pathway, low to the ground, a new granite sign held up by two posts reads:

KIHCITOMITAHOTOMONIYA
(RESPECT THIS PLACE)
THE LAND YOU WALK UPON HAS BEEN A SPECIAL PLACE TO WABANAKI PEOPLE FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS. A PLACE WHERE CHILDREN WERE BORN AND PLAYED. A PLACE WHERE ELDERS LIVED THEIR LIVES. WALK IN RESPECT ON THIS LAND SO OVER THE NEXT THOUSAND YEARS YOUR DESCENDANTS WILL ENJOY THE BEAUTIES AROUND YOU.
DONALD SOCTOMAH, A DESCENDANT OF THE ORIGINAL DWELLERS HERE,
AND BONNIE NEWSCOM OF THE PENOBSCOT NATION.

The accessible path leads to a new picnic table on a raised gravel platform and two huge signs narrating the history of the site. Similar signs, of various sizes and heights, are scattered among the trees, all fashioned out of granite. Beyond the picnic area, along the bank of the river, is a walking trail that faintly resembles an old road, lined with wild berry bushes and poison ivy. Along the trail to the west are several

access points to the river, including a side-path that leads through thick stands of jewelweed down to the old “Indian spring” where locals used to fill plastic jugs with drinking water and where fly-fishermen make their way down to this stretch of fast-moving shallows. Further down, another side-path leads to the Father Rasle monument at the back of St. Sebastian Catholic cemetery just on the edge of the line that divides Madison from the neighboring town of Norridgewock. The walking trail ends at a pebbly beach on the shore of the Kennebec across from where the Sandy River joins it. Here, sunchokes grow among raspberry bushes in the opening where the power lines cross the river to the town of Starks. On the Starks side, tall white pines tower over the riverbank where nesting eagles circle overhead, and large cornfields are visible from the opposite shore. Past the beach, an older, hard-to-spot trail leads through the woods and opens on another large cornfield on the Old Point.

Figure 1: The Pines, facing south down the “river trail.” Madison, ME. August 2013. Photo by the author.

This place didn't always look like this. Like all places, this one is constantly changing and being changed. Places are always in the process of becoming. Walking through it today, or observing a photograph, you would never know that this place looks quite different in the memory of many Madison locals. With the exception of the main trail, which used to be a drivable road, these pathways and monuments are all new. Moments in time, whether a single visit to a place, a photograph, or an image held in our memories, tend to freeze places so that they are experienced as if they are unchanging.[1] Walking through this place now, you would likely follow the pathways without knowing that this is not how most locals interact with this place. The new monuments that display quotes from famous American environmentalists would direct you to view this place as an idyllic representation of natural beauty. They would also direct you to think about this place as the product of a complex Wabanaki past they declare to be long gone. Despite that the quotation on the first monument implies that this place is still important to Wabanaki people, the subsequent monuments narrate the history of the 1724 attack on the Wabanaki village and mark this attack as an end point of Wabanaki continuity here. This claimed end-point serves to override the declaration of continued importance to Wabanaki peoples, emphasizing this place's assumed singularity as the quote from well-known American conservationist and novelist Norman McLean, which appears on one of the granite monuments, illustrates: "eventually all things merge into one and a river runs through it."

But all things have not merged into one. The stories and memories of this place do not make up a single coherent whole. And the claim that they do is a political one.

[1] In his discussion of river, place, and knowledge in Amazonia, Hugh Raffles (2002) describes this disconnect between places that are always becoming and our experiences of them as unchanging.

A Story About Place

This dissertation is a story, or - perhaps better - a collection of stories, about a place known variously as Nanrantsouak, Norridgewock, The Old Point, and The Pines, (a multiplicity to which I will return shortly).[2] It is a place on the Kennebec River in what is now the State of Maine where a lively Wabanaki village once thrived. In colonial times, this village was located in Wabanaki[3] territory that was disputed between Nouvelle France and New England. To many Wabanaki people, Nanrantsouak was a home-place and a gathering place and became an important center for Wabanaki resistance against English expansion. To Nouvelle France it was a buffer between them and the New England colonies and became the last hope for maintaining a foothold in the territory that would become New England. To New England, and Massachusetts especially, it was a stronghold that needed to be dealt with because it was hindering English improvements of lands they took to be rightfully theirs.

Today, Nanrantsouak, rendered Norridgewock in English, is a place that is remembered in part for its violent history, the story of a massacre of Wabanaki men, women, and children by Massachusetts Colony forces in the fall of 1724. This violent

[2] For ease of reference, in each chapter I use the name most directly connected to the enactment I am investigating. In places where I am referring collectively to multiple enactments of this place, I will use "Norridgewock," because it is the most commonly recognizable to all actors who participate in enacting this place. I do this while acknowledging that choosing an Anglicized version of the village name is a political act in a settler colonial context.

[3] Wabanaki, often translated to people of the east or people of the dawnland, is a term that refers collectively to the indigenous, algonkian-speaking peoples of the northeast, spanning from Nova Scotia to New York. It includes present-day Mi'kmaq, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Abenaki peoples, as well as others. While the Kennebec Norridgewock Indians are more commonly referred to as the sub-set "Abenaki" in the literature, I use the inclusive "Wabanaki" here to index the wide-reaching network of relations of which Nanrantsouak was a part and to acknowledge the wide-spread diasporic descendant community of Nanrantsouak survivors. See Chapter 1 for details.

moment in a multi-generations-long cycle of disputes over territory and power has come to shape history, place, and belonging in a myriad of ways. This place is a "site of incorporated history"[4] (Bourdieu 1991: 13), a product of history which also reproduces history. Yet, while the collection of stories that make up this dissertation is historical, this is not a historical account of this place. Instead, this dissertation is about the stories, memories, practices, and relationships that enact this place - that make this place what it was, what it is, and what it might become.

This dissertation, then, is an investigation of place-making. But why investigate place or place-making when it has already been done? Since the late 1980s, many anthropologists have shifted away from merely equating "place" with "location," the stage or backdrop for the "real stuff" of culture (Basso 1996; Meuggler 2001; Rodman 1992). Instead, many scholars have come to theorize place as a fundamental part of, or the condition of possibility for, human experience and knowledge (Casey 1996). From this "dwelling perspective," (see Heidegger 1971; Ingold 2000), "place" has been rendered in two major ways in anthropology and related social sciences. The first is theorization of "place" as a social or cultural concept and the second as ethnographic attention to particular places - how they are perceived and experienced. Anthropologists and others have considered how some places can be sites of struggle (Appadurai 1988; Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 1997); how a place can hold different meanings for different ethnic groups (Blu 1996; Rodman 1992); and how people imbue their worlds with meaning (Basso 1996) and feel particular places deeply (Stewart 1996) or inhabit them with intensity (Cho 2008;

[4] Here I draw a parallel to how feminist and medical anthropologists have come to theorize the body.

Meuggler 2001). With this shift in understanding of place has come the possibility of breaking down boundaries and looking not only at being-in-place, but also uprootedness, diaspora, and movement as well as the multiplicity of voices and the politics and power struggles with which places and peoples' relationships to them are riddled. By focusing on the "[c]ultural processes and practices through which places are rendered meaningful - through which, one might say, places are actively sensed" (Feld and Basso 1996: 7), both theoretical and ethnographic engagements with "place" involve considering the interplay between how places and social identities are culturally constructed.

These studies of place have opened up incredible avenues of possibility for anthropological inquiry. Yet, as Tim Ingold (2000) has argued, by focusing on how "social identities" (Feld and Basso 1996: 7) and places are culturally constructed, many approaches to the study of place in anthropology have inadvertently relied on theoretical approaches that assume a strict analytical division between a mind that imagines and a body that experiences the world. Many of these studies have focused on how people construct or imagine places in a way that assumes a separation between how people interpret and make meaning of the world and how they experience or feel it. Thus, these approaches to place have remained caught up in or at least framed by the divides many anthropologists have critiqued and from which many anthropologists have sought to get away (see Ingold 2000 for an elaboration of this critique).

Furthermore, while anthropologies of place have elaborated on our understandings of the richness and complexities of difference, they have often assumed coherent and bounded cultures or groups who share epistemological and/or

cosmological place-making systems (for critiques of this boundedness see Brubaker 2002; Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Rodman 1992). Because they take these social groups and their practices and beliefs as given entities in the world, their approaches leave unanswered questions about how groups come into being, about how to make sense of variations within groups, or about how groups and/or their sense of place change over time. These leave us with questions about how we, as scholars and analysts of human experiences, foreground the nuance and complexity of relationships between these presumed groups. Some scholars of place have avoided substantive engagement with difference or politics altogether (Basso 1996), while others develop explanations of difference that presume a "culture clash" (Morrison 1984; White 1991). Some anthropologists who have moved away from the study of locales to the study of ontologies and networks, have lost touch with place and relationships to particular places (see Hinkson 2017 forthcoming).

In this dissertation, I demonstrate how approaching place-making as practice, in ways that do not assume mind/body and nature/culture divides, can facilitate more nuanced understanding of peoples' complex relationships to places and to each other in cultures that are neither coherent nor bounded but rather always negotiated and in the process of being made. Here, I develop tools to consider how people shape places and how places shape people. My focus on practice equips my analysis to acknowledge and investigate complexity and difference and see how peoples' sense of belonging to a group is made and negotiated rather than predetermined and essentialist. It also allows me to unpack the politics that produce and can be produced by place-making. If, as philosopher Edward Casey contends, place is the foundational

human experience from which knowledge is made possible (Casey 1996; Casey 2009; see also Feld and Basso 1996; Merleau-Ponty 2007) and from which we grow in situ as guided by our relatives and the socio-historical structures that precede us (Ingold 2000), then how is it that a particular place with a particular history (i.e. a locale) can come to have vastly different and even contradictory meanings? This is a question with which I grapple in this dissertation.

"What do People make of Places?": Place-making as a Matter of the Mind

Keith Basso opens *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996), one of the most influential ethnographies of place-making, with the question, "What do people make of places?" (xiii). In Basso's work, place-making is a practice of "historical imagination" where people bring the past into being through stories and names that imbue particular places with socio-cultural meaning and opportunities for working toward wisdom (5). The evidence for this imagined place-making comes from both direct encounters with these places and a symbolic linguistic system which he investigates by analyzing Western Apache place names and storytelling[5] practices. In his ethnography, Basso demonstrates how stories connect the people, the ancestors, and a system of moral values to the Western Apache landscape, past and present. People use these stories to shape both themselves and others as Apache individuals and community members. And because the wisdom in these stories "sits" in places on the known landscape, regular encounters with these places cause people to continuously recall and rethink the stories and the wisdom they hold.

[5] This is also true in Kathleen Stewart's A Space on the Side of the Road, wherein she studies place-making as a storied "cultural poetics" that, while *felt*, does not elucidate the practices by which places are brought into being (1996).

According to Basso, places serve as "mnemonic pegs on which to hang the moral teachings of their history" (Basso 1984; quoted in Ingold 2000; Sarris 1993). This metaphor of pegs on which moral stories are "hung," or a chair where the wisdom in moral stories "sits," has been influential in and productive of ethnography on place, narrative, and memory[6] (see for example Meuggler 2001; Navaro-Yashin 2009; Neufield 2008; Slyomovics 1998), but it's important to consider the implications of this suggestion. This metaphor implies that the stories and morals are fabrications of the mind which are then placed outside to "hang" on or "blanket" over the landscape (see also Ingold 2000: 207-208). Indeed, to ask what people make *of* places is to equate place with location and suggest that humans must create meaning for these places[7] (see Rodman 1992 for a critique of this equation of place with location). Basso focuses on how people deploy place-based *stories* in order to bring the past into being or to act on themselves or others. Basso argues that he seeks to understand a "sense" of place; in this construction it seems that what he means by "sense" is the experience of imagining and sharing stories about the past, an experience of thought linked to place-worlds held in the minds of other members of the community/culture.

Yet Basso's analysis of how people make meaning of place from stories about things that people have done or experienced in these places also opens up space for a deeper investigation into the relationship between story and experience. As Basso

[6] Neufield writes that for the people he works with, places on the land serve as "trigger[s] for the stories, the values, and knowledge encapsulated in them" (2008: 19).
[7] In the introduction to *Senses of Place*, Steven Feld and Keith Basso argue that the scholars who contributed to the edited volume seek to make "sense of place" more complex than the simple generalizable claim that place is constructed. While this work certainly does grant more texture and complexity to this claim, these scholars continue to focus on how people make and imagine and interpret certain places and how, in turn, place can "naturalize" some of these constructions (1996: 8).

demonstrates, for the Western Apache, just knowing the stories and being told how they work (on people, symbolically, linguistically, etc) is not enough. Throughout *Wisdom Sits in Places*, people regularly insist that he, or others, must physically go to the places in the stories, and it is only once people experience these places that the stories can work on their minds. Indeed, it is Basso's direct experiences with Apache places and the place-making stories *together* that transforms the landscape and gives it new shape for him, just as they shape his encounters with other places. Sensing place, then, is as much embodied (Bourdieu 1991; Casey 1996; Merleau-Ponty 2007; Mol 2002), as it is imagined and symbolic. Therefore, while place-making is a symbolic and imaginative practice that is culturally informed and shared through stories, it is also grounded in direct experiences of being physically in the presence of places.

By focusing on symbolic systems and meaning-making, Basso has offered anthropology and related disciplines possibilities for understanding how cultures, histories, and memories are shared among community members who are connected to one another by retellings and rethinkings in relation to a particular landscape. What he leaves open that requires further exploration is the relationship between story and experience. We all participate in making and shaping places as we imagine the past and unpack what it means for us. As such, sense of place is closely linked to sense of self and, by extension, to our sense of belonging to a community that shares something of this sense of place. Yet, places are not just imagined - they are walked, seen, and felt; they are storied; they are experienced; they are related to; and they shape us as well. Scholarship of place-making requires a closer examination of the experiences and practices through which people make and are shaped by place.

Place-Making as Enactment

In this dissertation, I draw on practice-oriented approaches to understanding peoples' engagement with the world in order to configure place as something that we *do*. To these ends, I use Annemarie Mol's concept *enactment*[8] (2002) to help me unpack the "making" component of Basso's place-making. I ask: How do people *enact* particular places?[9]

By enact, I do not suggest that humans "construct" places, per se. As Tim Ingold (2000) has argued, the idea of a culturally constructed world suggests that the world must be imagined before it can be lived; that humans must create symbolic systems in their minds that are then put out onto the world. Rather than accept this model, I suggest that we enact place through our engagements with locality, materiality, and history; our own processes of storytelling,[10] relationship-building, and knowledge-production; and the historical and cultural contexts in which these are done. Thus, like Basso, I engage experience, history, story, and meaning in understanding place-making. But while Basso's work foregrounds symbolic and imagined meaning-making in relation to places, in this dissertation I foreground the practices and experiences of engaging and enacting place. As Mol uses the term, "enact" allows me to consider how practices bring objects, or in this case places, into

[8] Mol uses *enact* in an attempt to understand practice while also avoiding the complicated history and baggage that similar terms like *perform* and *construct* have in the social sciences. For her, *enact* allows us to consider how practices bring objects into being without necessarily slipping into the extremes of radical constructivism - there is still a material reality to these objects and that reality creates a condition of possibility for the object's enactment. For Mol, enactment suggests a mutual co-constitution of object and practice.

[9] I build this question from Meuggler's similar question, how do people "*inhabit* particular places?" (2001: 10)

[10] In this approach, storytelling is not merely an imagining that occurs in a mind as if it were set apart from the world, but instead engages the world directly. Storytelling is an enactment that brings places into being, a point to which I will return below.

being without slipping into radical constructivism. There is still a material reality and historicity to these places which creates conditions of possibility for their enactment. This approach also creates a space from which we might flip Basso's famous question and ask not only "what do people make of places?" but also, "what do places make of people?" Just as people enact and shape places through remembering, storytelling, and being-in-place, places also shape people in profound and complex ways I explore throughout this dissertation.[11]

Enacting a Place Multiple

What happens to our conception of place when we shift our focus from how it is being imagined to how it is being *done*? What does this shift from imagining to doing allow us to ask, see, or understand about places and our attachments to them? In *The Body Multiple*, Annemarie Mol (2002) argues that when an ethnographic study foregrounds practices instead of objects, rather than revealing multiple perspectives on or about the same object, the study can reveal how objects are brought into being. In her study, medical techniques and practices make atherosclerosis of the leg vessels "visible, audible, tangible, knowable" (33). She finds that because this is done in different ways by different practitioners in different parts of the hospital, the "atherosclerosis" that is rendered in each instance is different. It differs depending on the practices that are used, the contexts in which they take place, and the purposes for which this is done. For example, in the clinic exam room, a physician brings atherosclerosis into being through interview and examination practices, rendering it

[11] This may also be one way for anthropology to shift away from our understanding of group-ness as a precondition for shared place-making and instead allow us to see how place-making practices can also bring socially shared senses of group belonging into being.

knowable as pain when walking and low ankle blood pressure in order to make decisions about treatment. In the operating theater, a surgeon brings atherosclerosis into being through practices of cutting, rendering it knowable as something to be removed or bypassed in order to intervene. In the pathology lab, a technician brings atherosclerosis into being through observation practices using a microscope, rendering it knowable as a thickening of the walls of blood vessels cut away from amputated legs in order to pass judgment on the actions of others. The first instance requires a physician and a complaining patient; the second requires a surgeon, surgical instruments, living tissue, and a quiet patient; the third requires a technician, a microscope, an amputated leg, and no patient. Furthermore, the practices necessary in one place become useless in the other - a microscope would not help the physician in the exam room as it cannot penetrate skin to peer into living blood vessels, just as the practice of checking a pulse is of no use to the technicians and researchers in the pathology lab, where blood is no longer pumped through the vessels of amputated limbs. Therefore, when practices are foregrounded, "reality multiplies" (Mol 2002: 5).

How does this claim that enactment multiplies reality in the case of the human body apply to place? I argue that places are enacted through a complexity of practices, relationships, stories, and memories that render place multiple. And because people occupy different social positions (both in the sense that each of us is multiply positioned and different individuals occupy different positions in society) and we speak from these multiple positions, we enact place in different ways.[12] Like Mol's body multiple, places have a certain understood singularity - we can locate a place on

[12] Margaret Rodman (1992) terms this multilocality and multivocality, respectively.

a map, give one another directions to it, we can go there and see the place for ourselves, and we can go with others, meet people there, discuss the place and have a sense of a shared experience. But how we encounter the place and what meaning we will make for and with this place will depend on the stories, memories, experiences and relationships we carry with us. Those, along with what we *do* in and with a place shape how the place "*is* - being enacted" (Mol 2002: 33) and therefore what the place comes to be, do, and mean as it is being enacted. In short, a place's geographical locate-ability merely directs us to imagine place as singular and helps to mask the multiple ways that place is enacted.

This is where my work diverges perhaps most significantly from current anthropological understandings of place. When taken as a culturally constructed practice of imagining, place-making is inherently understood to be singular, a sort of bounded practice within an assumed-to-be-similarly-bounded "culture" or "community" (see for example Meyers 1986). For instance, in *Wisdom Sits in Places*, Basso (1996) presents an "Apache sense of place," as if all Apache people understand, story, and enact place in the same way. Basso does indicate that Apache storytelling allows for different versions and tellings which may be considered so long as they are plausible. Yet all of these seem to rely on an underlying coherent and agreed-upon process, grounded in the shared linguistic system. Basso's analysis thus assumes a coherent "community," within which values, epistemology, ontology, and cosmology are shared and homogenous - a singular "worldview" that produces a similarly singular sense of place within that community.

Indeed, many anthropologists of place have understood place-making as a sort

of bounded practice, marked by its internal sameness and singularity within a given group. Even studies, which have sought to incorporate multiple voices and unpack how people from different social positions relate to a particular place differently (thus elaborating on Rodman's appeal to multivocality and multilocality, 1992), have tended to locate this difference between presumed groups in their elaborations of inter-group differences or struggles, as if each presumed group were made up of internal sameness (see for example Blu 1996; Kahn 1996; Meuggler 2001). These studies have enabled deeper questions about the politics of difference and have created spaces for other voices to enter conversations. They have also raised questions about how to develop analytical approaches that better enable us to understand internal difference, change over time, and the complexities of relationships within and between presumed groups.

Anthropologists have long critiqued this notion of internal coherence, questioning both the analytic usefulness of the concept of "community" as well as the idea of "culture" as a shared "worldview" (see Brubaker 2002; Ferguson and Gupta 1992; Ingold 2000; Rodman 1992). Instead, many anthropologists have come to understand these shared ways of knowing as the products of ongoing negotiations between sameness and change, part of processes that are always in a state of becoming and being done rather than preconceived and coherent "cultures" that are perpetuated. This more recent approach to understanding social relations requires a closer look at the practices that bring places, and with them senses of community, into being.

By foregrounding practice in this dissertation, I consider how experiences of place and practices of place-making are part of how senses of group belonging and internal coherence - or of inter- group difference - are brought into being, negotiated,

and maintained or altered. This practice-oriented approach opens possibilities for considering how it is possible for people who see themselves as part of a shared culture or community to enact a place differently. It also opens possibilities for considering how people who see themselves to be part of different or even opposing groups to share some criteria for place-making practices. From here, I consider questions about the enactments of place and community: how is it that some enactments can co-exist as parallels while others are in competition? And how do these different enactments of place affect how people build and experience relationships with others? With these questions, my attention to enactments of place complicates conflict and coherence and pushes me to consider more deeply the nuances and politics of place-making.

Introducing A Place Multiple

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I grew up spending time at this place that I have always known as "the Pines." As a child, I came here regularly with my grandfather to get water at the fresh water spring, known in previous generations as the "Indian spring." I remember Papa driving the old Buick down in behind the picnic site at the Pines. I remember clambering down the slippery muddy path on the hill, my grandfather with empty plastic jugs in hand. I remember him setting down the jugs to pick me up and put me on top of the cement covering of the spring outlet pipe. I remember sitting on top of this cement roof, swinging my dangling feet, while he filled one jug after another. This spring water was a regular part of life at my grandparents' house: there was always a jug in the fridge while extra jugs were kept on an old plant stand on the landing outside the door, full ones waiting to be brought inside, empties waiting to be taken back to the Pines to be refilled. My gram would send me out to the landing to trade an empty jug for a full one. In this way, thoughts of the Pines bring me to thoughts of the spring, of my grandparents, of their house, and the daily actions of life where I spent so much time growing up.

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These intimate memories of this place came into sharp contrast with my first experience attending a Wabanaki memorial gathering[13] here when the familiarity of this place was unsettled and I encountered, for the first time, the possibility that place could be multiple. This experience of unsettling began for me well before the gathering when I noticed that I was the only person who referred to this place as "the Pines." No one else who attends the memorial calls it that; to them it is Nanrantsouak or Norridgewock, the name of the ancestral village in Wabanaki or in English. On the day of the gathering, I arrived at the Pines early to do some cleanup. Out of an old habit, I parked at the north end of the picnic area, where the head of the old road to the spring used to be. I remember seeing a truck parked at the other end and some people standing by a picnic table, and thinking how strange it was that someone would park way down there. After cleaning up litter and preparing one of the fire pits for a corn roast, I decided to walk down to see if they were here for the gathering.

As I met these Wabanaki people for the first time, I remember feeling suddenly awkward. I did not know these people who held me at a metaphorical arm's length and looked at me with questioning suspicion, wondering what I was doing here. They needed to place me, and to do so, they needed to know how I was connected, what

[13] This is a gathering that has occurred annually for nearly two decades and is organized by descendants of Wabanaki peoples from Nanrantsouak in collaboration with Gedakina, a grass-roots collective of indigenous activists and allies working on indigenous revitalization in the Northeast. People from all over Maine and New England gather together at the site of the old Nanrantsouak village, to honor and remember those who lost their lives in the violent attack on the village in 1724 and to build stronger relations among the participants. The first year I attended the gathering I was an undergraduate research intern for Gedakina studying indigenous histories and revitalization at various places around the northeast. "We all have pieces of the puzzle" my mentor Judy would say, "and when we get together, we share what we know and fit some of the pieces back together,"– this was the work of decolonization for this collective. The method – gathering together to share knowledge and experience that could recreate and heal the home-lands by reinvigorating the social relations within them. The gathering is participatory by invitation, so I will not be describing or analyzing the particulars of it in my work. Instead, I address the kind of place-making work that the gathering is part of and how this work enacts a different sort of place here than the local enactments with which I grew up.

brought me here. This was part of my home-place, part of my family memories, part of my life – and yet, to draw on Mary Douglas's concept, I felt like a person out of place (adapted from Douglas 2002) as I realized that I did not fit the expectation of who attended the ceremony: I was not a tribal citizen nor a direct relative of any of the Wabanaki people present.

Suddenly, I had never been here before. Despite that this place and its history was part of what I knew as home, this was their memorial and my presence was strange. In this moment, through these different social relations of which I was not yet a part, "the Pines" became a different place. It was not, in this context, the Pines but Nanrantsouak, and I was a stranger to it.

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I have come to think of this place, known variously as the Pines, Norridgewock, Nanrantsouak, and the old mission village, as a place multiple. This is actually more complicated than it might seem, for while Mol's body coheres, my place multiple does not necessarily. This place is in some ways not agreed-upon in its name or even its location on a map. For example, when I first met with Dr. Arthur Spiess, Senior Archaeologist at the Maine Historic Preservation Commission (MHPC), to talk about my research project about this place, I repeatedly referred to it as "the Pines." After some slight confusion over what exactly I was talking about, he asked me, "do you mean Old Point? The site of the Norridgewock Mission?" Apparently to archaeologists such as Dr. Spiess, "the Pines" picnic area is a separate location from "Old Point," the site of the old village, despite the fact that the property lines that separate these "sites" today did not exist when Wabanaki people inhabited the village.

In fact, because property lines directly affect archaeological practice, the area where the old village was located is rendered multiple in archaeology; it is a "multi-sited archaeological district" which includes the Old Point, the Pines, and the Tracy Farm Site just across the river.

In this dissertation, I consider multiple ways that this place is enacted through stories, memories, histories, and gatherings. Wabanaki people see Nanrantsouak as a home-place that included the large mission town, corn fields, and related villages up and down the river in this region[14] as well as the current diaspora of the descendant community. As such, many Wabanaki people enact this place as a story of Wabanaki survivance.[15] Many archaeologists and historians, on the other hand, separate The Old Point/Norridgewock Mission from the Wabanaki village that preceded the arrival of Jesuits and from other village-site locations on different properties, even if they were directly connected to Nanrantsouak. By doing so, they make it possible to enact this place as a marker of the conquest of Wabanaki people and end-point of their presence, and a site of American national significance. Madison locals tend to separate the old mission village, where there is an old monument, from the Pines, the neighboring picnic area property. They then link the first directly to Indian Village history and disconnect the second from that history, connecting it instead with a sense of what it

[14] Indeed, in a statement to commissioners from Massachusetts colony in 1714, the speaker for the Eastern Indians referred to Nanrantsouak as a place multiple: "We are by the chiefs of the two several plantations of Noronjawoke and Penobscott." (Baxter 1913)

[15] Survivance is a concept from the work of Anishnaabe author, intellectual, and culture critic Gerald Vizenor (1999, 2008). Vizenor argues that the term survival is inadequate for understanding indigenous continuity through settler colonial violence because it can be interpreted as happenstance. Instead, Vizenor offers "survivance" to indicate a survival that is made possible through action, innovation, and struggle - a combination of survival and resistance. With survivance, Vizenor seeks to move away from narratives that render Native American peoples as the ultimate victims and instead to highlight the struggle, innovation, and creativity, alongside very real violence and hardship. See Chapter 1.

means to be a local. Yet, while it would be simple to separate Wabanaki, archaeologist/historian, and local into separate and internally coherent groups from this first-glance sense of differences, as I will show in the chapters that follow, enactments of place are much more complex.

Eric Meuggler (2001) wrote that some places are inhabited intensely. This place is certainly one of them. While no living person actively lives there anymore, it is inhabited intensely in and by memory. People story this place into their individual and collective sense of belonging. There are those who have lived nearby all their lives and pull this place into a collective set of memories with which they construct a "local" belonging. Others have moved or lived their lives elsewhere but maintain a remembered and storied relationship to this place. Still others have lived elsewhere for generations and do not share these experiences of local belonging, yet have remained connected to this place through storied and enacted relationships with ancestors who lived and died here, and with ancestors who kept the place and their memory alive over the generations through stories. For a few, this place marks both an ancestral belonging and a contemporary local one. Many people visit this place regularly: visit the site, memories, or ancestors both through shared stories and physical presence in this place. For all, then, this is a place where people gather and re-member in Kathleen Stewart's sense of bringing together (1996). These gatherings in turn enact this place so that the place itself seems to gather (see Casey 1996) stories, memories, people, and history. It gathers the intensity of emotions, of family relations and reunions, of personal experiences and nostalgia, of violent pasts and traumatic histories.

Multiplicity, Politics, Erasure, and Settler Colonialism

If place is enacted multiply, how do people go about making different enactments cohere? Mol raises a parallel question about the body and atherosclerosis in *The Body Multiple* (2002). Mol reveals mechanisms that people use to achieve this coherence, methods such as translation where one enactment is explained in terms of another, inclusion where one enactment is understood to be part of another, or composites where different enactments are simply taken together. Likewise, in the chapters of this dissertation, I examine mechanisms and methods through which multiple enactments of place are made to cohere. In some instances, enactments are taken to be part of progress so that one enactment is understood to be an improvement upon a perceived-as-previous one. In others, one enactment might be ignored or rejected in favor of another. In yet others, different enactments might be explained in terms of differences in perspectives or cultures. In these cases, the different enactments might be rejected based on a sense of hierarchy, or they might be permitted to co-exist in a cultural relativist sort of way.

Not all enactments, however, are able to cohere; some are incompatible. In these cases, how are various practices of place-making and their different enactments negotiated? I suggest that at times these incompatible enactments co-exist as parallels while at other times they collide. In moments of collision, place becomes contested. Moments of contestation can reveal underlying politics and social inequalities that shape all enactments of place in various ways but might otherwise remain hidden. Place multiple helps us think not only about how place comes into being in different ways, at different times, for different people, but also about what kinds of claims

people make on place. Here I expand on Mol by directing my attention to the politics that render my "place multiple" a product of conflict that also has the potential to produce conflict over its multiplicity.[16] Enactments of place, then, require a direct engagement with politics.[17]

Place-making is especially political in the context of settler colonialism, where place-making is shaped by settler logics of elimination that erase indigenous presence on the land in order to replace it (Kauanui 2016; Morgensen 2011; O'Brien 2006, 2010; Wolfe 1998, 2006, 2016) Because of this colonial legacy in general, and the history of violence against Wabanaki peoples at this place in particular, place-making here is particularly wrought with politics.

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They can't say we haven't been here. We have never not been here. I don't care what they write in their books. I don't care if someone says they came here and didn't see us. I carry this place with me. This place has always been a part of us. Our ancestors are here, and we're connected to them, and through them, we are connected to this place.

~Penobscot Descendant of Nanrantsouak
Nanrantsouak Memorial 2012

We are sitting together in a circle at Nanrantsouak, on the very earth where our ancestors lived. We have just completed a memorial to those of our ancestors who were killed here by a British militia in 1724. We do this every year. We live with their memories and the legacy of this place that has affected us forever. The memorial gathering is part of what keeps us connected to our ancestors, connected to this place, and connected to each other.

But this year is a little different. An elder has asked us to stop and think critically

[16] Mol states that "[t]here are innumerable tensions inside medicine but clashes between fully fledged paradigms are rare" (178).

[17] While Mol's engagement with ontology and epistemology takes a clear position and focus and is, as she states, "not neutral," (182) it does not directly analyze the overt social politics of the practices that make the body multiple. Instead, Mol states that she seeks to offer an approach that can open new questions along these lines, but she does not answer those questions herself (see, for instance, viii, 177). In this dissertation, I seek to take up some of the questions she has made possible with her approach, but with a different focus.

about our relationship to this place and to share our thoughts with one another. You see, two years ago the town announced their vision for a history project here, a project that included placing monuments throughout these grounds to narrate its history, a project from which the descendants of those who once lived here, and their wider relations, were left out. Since then, there have been discussions among the descendants and among the Wabanaki tribes about this place and this monument project. We have been concerned about the power of historical monuments to erase our histories and our ongoing connections to this place if our voices are not included. Well, the new monuments were erected last November. Most of us are seeing them for the first time. And many of us feel that, in the words of one of the memorial attendees, "the signage […] minimalizes the Norridgewock community and the history of the village and massacre that took place there." It may be time for action….

Ask any town local and they will tell you that there used to be Indians here, down at the Pines. They might know that they were Abenakis or Norridgewocks. But they will definitely know that they aren't here anymore, that they've been gone since the massacre. They may or may not know that the massacre happened in the 1700s. But they will likely tell you that either all the Indians perished or that they all fled to Canada and were never seen again….

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When the town of Madison announced their intentions install historical monuments at the Pines, many Wabanaki peoples were alarmed by the prospect that this project would perpetuate the local assumption that Wabanaki people were gone by repeating and displaying the historical erasure narratives that informed that assumption. This unease increased when the monuments were completed and placed two years later without collaboration or in-depth consultation with Wabanaki people. Furthermore, the monuments presented a historical narrative that highlighted the 1724 attack on the village as an end-moment of Wabanaki connection to this place. At the time, I remember wondering how much the assumed truth-claim of this erasure narrative had informed the lack of collaboration effort: did organizers of the project believe that Indians had been gone from this place for nearly three hundred years, leaving no one with whom to collaborate? And yet, as the comment quoted above

asserts, Norridgewock has always remained part of Wabanaki peoples', especially Norridgewock descendants', understandings of themselves. In other words, for many descendants, while the violence of the massacre has left its mark on Wabanaki peoples and memories forever, it does not represent a dramatic break in the continuity of Wabanaki presence in Wabanaki homelands.

While I argue that enactments of this place are multiple, they are all marked in some way by the history of violence inflicted on the village in 1724. But how that violence is remembered, what that violence can mean, and how it lends itself to the kinds of relationships people build with this place is different for different people. In this dissertation, I investigate how social hierarchy and politics shape enactments of place. The histories, memories, stories, and practices that enact this place are shaped by the structuring processes of the settler colonial context that has produced them and been produced and reinforced by them (see Wolfe 1998, 2006).

For instance, national and local place-making practices are shaped by what Mark Rifkin (Rifkin 2014) has referred to as the "settler common sense" notion of Wabanaki absence, even as Wabanaki peoples enact this place as a marker of their survivance despite (or because of) the violence their ancestors experienced. Furthermore, many subsequent enactments of this place perpetuate the notion that the attack on Nanrantsouak in 1724 marked the end moment of the Kennebec Wabanaki through what I call "erasure narratives" (see also O'Brien 2010). These reenactments allow for a refusal or silencing of Wabanaki enactments that contradict them.

Because of this, the multiple enactments of this place do not simply add up to a single coherent whole - instead at times they enact parallels, at other times

contradictions. The fact that the erasure narrative is more pervasive than narratives of continuity indicates that this place has been presented as a "single story" through settler colonial productions of place, history, and community that render some (settler) productions of place and history more legitimate, more real, than others. And because of the power imbalances that are shaped specifically by this place's settler colonial history, some of these enactments serve as totalizing narratives that erase others. Therefore, these are not different *versions* or *perspectives* on a place; these are different *enactments* of place.[18] In the settler colonial context some enactments, such as continuity and erasure, are completely incompatible.

If some enactments of place are incompatible, it is critical to unpack the politics that shape how the place's multiplicity is made to appear singular. As postcolonial and indigenous studies scholars have pointed out, many practices of knowledge production are characterized by an obsession with fixity (Bhabha 1994; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Goeman 2008; Smith 2012) - a need to pin down, define, bound, and make singular in order to render knowable. As historian and scholar of Native American and Indigenous Studies (NAIS) Jean O'Brien has argued, in the context of settler colonialism this process is predicated on national legitimization through making-justifiable the erasure and replacement of indigenous peoples on the landscape and in history (2010; see also Kauanui 2016; Braudel 1982; Bloch 1953; de Certeau 1988; Wolfe 1998, 2006). According to feminist NAIS scholar Mishuana Goeman, this is partly done with historical productions of place and

[18] For a place to be plural would require an approach that erases politics altogether so that each enactment of a place and each perspective on a place would be equally valid, regardless of what goes into the enactment or how disparate the different enactments are. Places, however, are shaped by their location, materiality, and historicity. They are not fabricated free of contexts.

persons as bounded and separate units (2008) which allows for place to be constructed "as if" it were singular, a construction that separates multiple experiences and legitimizes only the settler one. This dissertation, then, is a collection of stories about how a place is enacted through the political interplay of narratives of continuity and narratives of erasure.[19]

Decolonizing Norridgewock: Describing the Project

Norridgewock is a place embedded in and shaped by colonial legacies of indigenous displacement and erasure. It is the site of a locally well-known and oft storied massacre of the Nanrantsouak Kennebec Wabanaki Indians and their Jesuit Missionary by a British militia in 1724. This legacy has reverberated from the moment of violence in 1724, through various moments in history where this violence is re-enacted and transformed. In some enactments, this moment of violence attests to Wabanaki survivance, marking this place as a place of Wabanaki continuity. In others, this historic moment is taken as an end point of Wabanaki presence, enabling this place to be enacted as part of an "origin story" for the municipality in which it now sits (see Braudel 1982; Bloch 1953; de Certeau 1988 on "origin" in history). Thus, while some enactments of this place (re)produce the erasure of Wabanaki peoples, others serve to resist erasure by reclaiming this place and its history while revitalizing

[19] Basso's focus in *Wisdom Sits in Places* does not engage contestations over place that we know must be present. First, given the settler colonial context in which his work takes place, we know that some Apache ways of enacting place are incompatible with some non-Indian ways of making place. Furthermore, some Apache must engage in these different forms of place-making, especially when they work with non-indigenous peoples in official capacities as businesses and governments. But it is not only the Indian/settler culture clash that requires consideration, there are multiple ways that Apache people engage in place-making, including the map making on which the tribal office suggests Basso work and the storytelling practices that inform his study. By unpacking how settler colonialism shapes place-making practices, I contribute to and expand upon Basso's work on place-making.

the networks of relations within which this place once thrived. The violence of 1724, then, shapes how people enact this place, even as they enact it differently. The legacy of this violent moment represents the epitome of settler colonial erasure narratives, in ways that reinforce scholarly understanding of settler colonialism as a process rather than an event (see Kauanui 2016; Wolfe 1998, 2006). Because Norridgewock is featured in so many historical narratives, it is central to narratives of settler colonial domination in northern New England, it represents a sort of keystone to the structure of settler colonialism, holding it in place here.[20]

My goal is to unsettle the erasure of indigenous belonging in this place by unpacking how erasure narratives are produced and reproduced, thus revealing how this place is enacted through settler colonialism. This is critical in New England where, due to its centrality to US origin stories and its extended settler occupation, narratives of Indian disappearance are particularly powerful despite continued Indian presence (Calloway 1991, 1994; Den Ouden 2005; Ghere 1993, 1997; O'Brien 2006, 2010; Clifford 1988). This dissertation, then, is also a decolonial story.

In 1999 Linda Tuhiwai Smith challenged indigenous scholars to "revisit, site by site, our history under Western eyes" in order to "[transform] our colonized views of our own history (as written by the West), [which] in turn requires a theory or approach which helps us to engage with, understand, and then act upon history" (34), what she calls "decolonizing methodologies." For Smith, this work exists in two main parts. The first is akin to post-colonial and feminist studies work to uncover the

[20] As Noenoe Silva writes, "colonial historiography […] does not simply rationalize the past and suppress knowledge of the oppressed. […] historiography is one of the most powerful discourses that justifies the continued occupation" of indigenous lands (Silva 2004:9).

contingencies of Western (settler) colonial knowledge production, to open it up, denaturalize it, show the underlying politics and histories, and challenge the claims to truth that it holds (Agrawal 1995; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Lock 1993; Mitchell 1991; Nader 1996; Silva 2004; Smith 2003; Smith 2012; Wolf 1982). The second is to "[center indigenous] concerns and world views and then [come] to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes" (Smith 1999, 39).

Scholars in the field of Native American and Indigenous Studies (NAIS) have taken this challenge seriously, revisiting and deconstructing historical narratives to reveal the ways they have been shaped by colonial desires. NAIS scholars have argued that we must work to understand how historiography has developed through colonial legacies that continue into the present, that is, how historiography is informed by particular epistemologies which are also implicated in this colonial legacy. They have demonstrated how this context helps us to understand the processes through which historiography omits and obscures (Calloway 1991; Den Ouden 2005; O'Brien 2010). They have uncovered a multitude of ways that this settler colonial history has impeded Indian peoples' abilities to speak for their own futures because "Indians" have been restricted to the realm of the past (Deloria 2003; Lowry 2010). And they have shown how this legacy has become so pervasive that it informs not only history but also other scholarship, popular imagination, and Indian politics (Deloria 1999, 2004; Konkle 2005; Warrior 1994).

At the same time as NAIS scholars are denaturalizing these assumptions and narratives by revealing their contexts and contingencies, they are also rethinking and

retelling stories and histories from indigenous perspectives. To do this, they are assuming indigenous persistence and beginning from within the vast networks of indigenous places and histories (Brooks 2008, 2018; Calloway 1990; Delucia 2012; Lowry 2010; O'Brien 2010). In this way, NAIS scholars disallow erasure narratives to take hold by refusing the colonial assumptions about Indians that permit them, such as that Indians are unchanging and thus cannot be modern, and instead highlighting indigenous agency, continuity, and resistance (Brooks 2005, 2008; Chaat Smith 2009; Justice 2006; Konkle 2004; O'Brien 2010; Warrior 1994; Wilson 2005).

This dissertation is deeply informed by these decolonizing methodologies. I take as my starting point the historical and ongoing Wabanaki relationships to this place as presented from Wabanaki perspectives through stories, memories, and actions of gathering and visiting. These practices enact Nanrantsouak as a place of Wabanaki survivance. I juxtapose this with erasure narratives that mobilize the same history differently to enact Norridgewock, the Old Point Mission, as the end-point of Wabanaki presence. I use this juxtaposition to unsettle and denaturalize the more commonly known erasure narratives. I unpack the practices and processes that have made it possible for these enactments of this place to create and perpetuate erasure narratives despite ongoing Wabanaki presence and connection to this place. And I consider the potential for practices of gathering to enact this place anew as they destabilize the erasure narratives and create possibilities for building meaningful relationships between peoples who have been separated by settler colonial productions of place and history (see Goeman 2008: 295).

Most studies that involve Indian people, places, and pasts have begun from an

Indian/settler binary and focused on either Indians or settlers, putting them in relation often only to unpack how one has affected the other (for instance how settlers have attempted to control Indian peoples or how Indian peoples have resisted this control). Indeed, as Kehualani Kauanui (2016) has pointed out, most of this scholarship engages in the settler colonial at the detriment of indigenous studies, taking the two subfields to be as separate as the dichotomy that undergirds much of settler colonial studies. Yet, as Kauanui argues, "[s]ince settler colonialism is a structure and not an event, and because indigenous peoples are still subject to that structure—an ongoing genocidal project—NAIS must be engaged in relation to Settler Colonial Studies for any meaningful examination of the US state in the context of American Studies, Cultural Studies, and other related fields" (2016). There are very few studies that have attempted an investigation of knowing, being, and doing in a settler colonial context that weaves together settler colonial studies and NAIS, that incorporates indigenous peoples and settlers, their practices, and their connections to place and history more evenly, and that does not take for granted the Indian/settler binary as an explanatory model. These are some of the ethnographic goals of this dissertation.[21]

In the chapters that follow, I investigate place-making practices that enact Wabanaki senses of place, American national senses of place, and local senses of

[21] This has proven challenging in many respects and introduces dilemmas about writing and naming that you will see me grappling with throughout this text. The practice of writing runs the risk of fixing that which we write in time and space in ways that we do not intend, even as we attempt to write against this fixity. The colonial legacies that NAIS scholars have unmasked are so pervasive that it is easy to fall into the very traps out of which we aim to work ourselves. This is particularly true given how deeply the settler colonial dichotomy of Indian and settler has shaped how we think about colonial histories and can make it difficult for us as scholars to effectively communicate useful categories of analysis without reifying these categories as essentialist or inherent qualities or things-in-the-world (see Brubaker 2002). As I have suggested, this project cannot easily be described by delimiting groups of people or geographic locales.

place. By focusing on enactments of place rather than groups, per se, I aim to reveal how practices can bring into being the groups we might otherwise take for granted. Thus, rather than take Wabanakis, Americans, and Madison locals as clearly delineated groups that can serve as objects of study as well as explanations for differences, I explore how certain practices, as shaped by particular histories and ways of knowing, bring and maintain senses of shared experience and inform how people negotiate senses of difference.

Decolonial Methods: Locating Myself within the Networks of Relations

My own sense of self is deeply tied to this place, as are the networks of relations with which I share a storied sense of place and memory. If, as Shawn Wilson (2008) has written, research is ceremony, then it is important to locate ourselves within the networks of relationships to which we belong and to be accountable to those relationships. The municipality where Norridgewock is located is my home town. And not only mine. My family has been here for about five generations on both my mother and my father's side. And those branches of the family that have not called Madison their hometown are from the same region of Western Maine. But my belonging is not only marked by immediate familial emplacement. My French-Indian mother's family also has a longer intergenerational memory tied to this place and it is this family memory that has brought me to this work. As part of that background, my family's relationship to this site has at times converged and at other times deviated from local imaginings common in Madison. Some of these moments of divergence from local place-making, despite "being" local, have opened up productive spaces for

inquiry and for upsetting the common sense notion of everyday indigenous absence. These moments have inspired and informed much of this project.

It is important for NAIS scholars, regardless of their own backgrounds, to "enter tribal relations" and "enter tribal philosophies" to do this kind of work (Garroutte 2003). This does not mean "going native;" instead, it challenges researchers to take seriously the relationships that we build with the places and peoples who host us and teach us (see also Smith 2012; Wilson 2008). We do this by listening to the stories from indigenous communities and by letting those stories inform how we approach the archive and what questions we ask of it (Brooks 2005; Silva 2004; Smith 2012). We do this by allowing our relationships to guide our journey of coming to learn and to know, by incorporating our relations into our decision-making, by respecting the boundaries that people delineate and the advice that they offer. We do this by respecting peoples' knowledges and by supporting their sovereignty, rights, needs, and struggles as we approach our studies and our writing (O'Brien 2008; Silva 2004). We do this by being radically present in our learning, teaching, and writing.

I have participated in the Wabanaki Nanrantsouak memorial gathering annually for ten years. Since my initial experience, described above, I have gradually become more familiar to other participants and this has in some ways re-cast my original strange-ness. This process is about more than becoming a recognizable face. Becoming familiar is about becoming engaged in reciprocal acts of "placing." These are acts that produce both self and place simultaneously within a context of particular sets of social and historical relations. It also requires that we open ourselves up to being "placed" so that our actions and intentions can be rendered legible. This process

also began to bring into focus my own experiences of difference, particularly the locally divergent ways my family related to history of Norridgewock, and to create a context in which these experiences came to have meaning for me. In some ways, then, it has transformed my understanding of myself and my understanding of this place, even as it has transformed my "place" within these networks of relations. These are methods of engaged belonging, methods of making community that can potentially speak across other kinds of difference.

Like me, this project is located within these networks of relationships and cannot be separated from them. This is a community-based project, and while the research and writing are my own, I would be nowhere without all my relations who have hosted, guided, and taught me; pushed, challenged, and supported me; and who have helped to direct my thinking and my learning. This project began from within these networks of relations, at the Nanrantsouak gathering in 2010, when an elder from the Passamaquoddy community of Sipayik and I were sharing stories about the history of this place and our connections to it. We were both here because we shared a connection to this place and remembered it as a place where ancestors experienced intense violence that had left scars that traveled to us through our family stories. But our experiences of this place were also different: he grew up on the reservation several hours away, and I grew up here, visiting this place regularly. As we talked, I shared how my family was often at odds with local ways of relating to and remembering this site, as most locals relate to this site through celebrations of the Jesuit missionary Father Sebastien Rasle, a man who my family saw as a traitor to Indian people. The elder shared that he too had heard stories that Rasle was a traitor. "Someone should

study this," he said to me. "How can the stories of this place be so different? What happened here? Why don't you use your time in school to learn about this?"

A few weeks later, I received a call from my mother about an article that had appeared in the newspaper that described a history and "restoration" project that Madison was undertaking at the Pines. She expressed concern that if the project organizers were not working closely with Wabanaki peoples, their plan to place historical monuments at the site would only further erase ongoing Wabanaki histories and relations here. In this moment, the elder's words urging me to make sense of the stories in this place came back to me, and I realized that this was the work that I should be doing. Furthermore, as I have demonstrated, it was my deep personal and familial connection to this place that helped reveal its multiplicity to me in the first place, creating a space from which I could develop my theoretical interventions into the anthropology of place.

This dissertation is an ethnography of place-making. In the pages that follow you'll find thick descriptions of places and the practices that shape them. The research that informs this study combines participant observation, interviews, and historical archival methods. I spent three summers of preliminary study, two years of field and archival research, and two years of writing while eliciting feedback and maintaining open conversation with those people with whom I have worked and learned. Yet, this project has been in the work for years longer than that.

The formal fieldwork took place in central Maine and involved spending time in the town of Madison, Maine and at the Norridgewock site(s). It also involved travel to Wabanaki reservation towns in Maine, and travel around Maine and New England

with people from whom I learned. To use anthropological terms, I worked with *communities of practice*, or persons who share in common certain practices and ideologies of practices and what Olwig (2007) describes as *social networks*[22] of individuals "who share common origins in a particular place" (13), in this case Nanrantsouak/Old Point/the Pines. I began from my own social networks grounded in my family's multi-generational identity as Madison locals as well as the relationships I had built with Wabanaki peoples since I had begun working with Gedakina as an undergraduate. The more I talked with people the more this network expanded, as people suggested others with whom I should connect[23] and offered new information, ideas, and questions for me to consider.

The research began with and always returned to the place itself. I spent time, often entire days, sitting or walking the land at this place, observing and talking with the people who came to it. I often came, as many locals do, to walk with my dog - a locally familiar practice that enabled me to strike up conversations with strangers which would have otherwise struck people as unusual. I attended Wabanaki gatherings here and elsewhere, and talked with many people about this place, its history, and the stories that people carry about it. Often, individuals would direct me to family or tribal members who had connections to this place and its past. I attended the annual mass held at the Father Rasle monument and chatted with attendees. I also spent time discussing local memory and folklore about this place with Madison locals during interviews in peoples' homes and informal conversations anywhere the opportunity arose - such as at the local drugstore or on the front steps of a neighbor's house - and

[22] In indigenous methodologies, these social networks might be termed relatives, kin, or simply family.
[23] This is called a "snowball sample" in statistics and sociology.

even via a locally run and heavily utilized Facebook group: “Remember When…Madison Maine.” Likewise, the people with whom I talked regularly directed me to others with connections to this place or knowledge about its history. I traveled to state and municipal offices and met with historic preservation officers, archaeologists, and town officials to discuss the more official views of this site’s importance at municipal, state, and federal levels. Finally, I spent a great deal of time recalling my own memories and discussing this place with family members - learning their stories and memories and also checking in when I needed assistance making sense of local historic memory.

While my research was grounded in the place of the old village, I quickly found that to understand this place I had to move well beyond its imagined historical and geographical boundaries. Like the stories that circulate about the village, my research flows beyond these boundaries along the waterways of familial and community relations and collective memory. The documented and living memory led me to travel along the networks of relations that are grounded in this place but spread outward along the vast networks of riverways. It led me all over New England, to various reservation communities, to family homes, to different sites of memory, to several events of active remembering, to various archives in New England, and even to archives and waterways as far away as Chicago. It led me to places as far flung as Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Sherbrooke Quebec, Burlington Vermont, and even southern New England.

Perhaps most interestingly, I spent a lot of time canoeing waterways in New England, for ceremonial paddles, tribal youth and women's paddling workshops, and

even canoeing events at urban inter-tribal powwows in southern New England. Friends and mentors who offered to teach me, as a young woman of mixed Wabanaki descent, about Wabanaki history, community, and lifeways and to help me build connections with the land and with community members invited me to travel with them and participate in community events, conferences, and gatherings. Many of these events involved canoeing. I paddled the waterways with folks from various Wabanaki communities and wider relations. Participating in canoe journeys became a central method for this study. I learned how canoe journeys and the gatherings with which they are often associated serve as a way to build connections within and between communities, to locate paddlers in the land and share knowledge about relationships with it, and a space for sharing personal and communal histories and memories.

As I traveled and paddled these places, I learned that they were connected to each other and to Nanrantsouak through people's relations, memories, histories, and stories. When I shared my family's connections to Nanrantsouak, I was struck by how often people replied, "I come from there;" most knew stories of Nanrantsouak, others had connections to similar stories of violence grounded in similar places and carried in the memories and bodies of their families. This movement and sharing across these networks has enriched my work and my understanding of this place and its history, especially as I carried these stories back to the archives.

Much like my own movement along the social networks of people connected to this place, I also traced the stories about this place which often traveled along these same social networks and riverways. Sometimes by tracing the movements of stories, or connecting stories that traveled to different places, I was able to reconstruct social

networks that had been disconnected, erased, or forgotten. This often led me to new questions for my interviews and conversations, just as those interviews and conversations helped inform how I engaged with the stories, creating a productive feedback loop that ensured that each of my methods was being informed by the others. This was especially helpful in the archive. Over the course of my archival research, I spent five weeks at the Newberry Library in Chicago, approximately twelve weeks at the Brown Library at the Maine Historical Society, six weeks at the Boston Athenaeum, three weeks at the Massachusetts Historical Society, and two weeks at the Houghton Library at Harvard College. I had three tasks in the archives. I examined documentary evidence and secondary source accounts of Indian-Settler relations in Maine and gathered multiple and contradictory historical narratives of both this general context and of Nanrantsouak (the place, the people, the attack on the village, and the aftermath). I traced the development of official historical representation of this history in the 19th century alongside the development of folkloric representations of this same history. And I searched for representations of Wabanaki stories, voices, and perspectives on Nanrantsouak.

A note on representation and interview ethics: Although I talked with many people both in formal interviews and in informal conversations, not every person with whom I spent time is willing to be identified in an academic work or to be the subject of research. While this can occur in general, it has proven to be especially the case among some of the Wabanaki people with whom I have spent time and from whom I

have learned a great deal[24] (see Smith 2012 for a discussion of the damaging colonial histories of research on indigenous individuals and communities). Thus I used methods of inquiry that allow for individual self-determination, giving people various options for representation such as whether they would be quoted and identified or not (i.e., remain anonymous), recorded or not recorded, quoted or summarized, etc. All decisions were respected. Given my personal connection to many of these people, it can at times prove difficult to recognize what information was intended to teach me as a person and what was intended for inclusion in my scholarship (see Narayan 1993). In these cases, I have returned to those individuals to ask permission to use their words or thoughts. Where this has not been possible, I have only included information or words that were directed to a public audience. When in doubt, I have omitted anything that may not have been intended for a wide audience.

The Chapters

Chapter 1 foregrounds Wabanaki storytelling and gathering practices that enact this place, Nanrantsouak, as both a site of English violence against Wabanaki ancestors and a site of Wabanaki survival and continuity. This chapter is broken into two parts, knowing and doing, both interconnected ways of enacting place. In the first, I consider the storytelling practices that enact Nanrantsouak as a place of violence that Wabanaki people survived. I explore how these stories connect people to Nanrantsouak and to one another, regardless of their locations and movements over time, enacting a community that is simultaneously grounded in Nanrantsouak and

[24] In fact, not one non-Indian person to whom I spoke declined an interview or requested that their name not be included in written academic work.

displaced from it. In the second part, I focus on gathering practices that enact Nanrantsouak as a place of Wabanaki continuity, survivance, and future possibility. I demonstrate how these gathering practices enact a slightly different Nanrantsouak but are informed and made possible by the storytelling practices. This chapter presents a radical reimagining of mainstream scholarly and non-Indian folkloric histories of Nanrantsouak, and foregrounds Wabanaki perspectives and voices. By beginning with Wabanaki continuity, I aim to juxtapose Nanrantsouak as a place of survivance, a representation common in Wabanaki stories, and the erasure narratives presented in more mainstream accounts which I take up in the following chapter, in order to unsettle these erasure narratives.

My engagement with place-making in this chapter expands on Keith Basso's work in two ways. First, as noted previously, Basso's study of Apache sense of place presents an internally coherent picture of Apache place-making and meaning-making practices. Basso does make clear that there is variation in place-making, and that different Apache individuals might tell place-making stories in different ways. Yet, by not elaborating on these variations, nor investigating conflicts or negotiations over place-making, he portrays an internally singular and coherent practice shared among a community that is presumably equally internally homogenous. Thus, his work takes for granted the assumption that, because all of these people are "Apache," they do and understand things in precisely the same way, leaving it unclear both what internal variation and disagreement might mean and also how people might have different practices or ideas while still understanding themselves to be "Apache." Yet, the map-making project that Basso undertakes at the request of the tribal chairman is quite a

different practice of place-making from the various storytelling practices he presents, although it is deeply informed by and embedded in them. In this chapter, I trouble any assumed internal homogeneity and elaborate on the internal multiplicity of Wabanaki place-making practices. I show how internal variation is an important part of a lively sense of community, as people come together and discuss different ideas and practices. I show how gathering, discussing, and negotiating practices such as place-making is one way in which people practice their sense of community in the present and continue to build it into the future.

Second, according to Basso "place-making is a universal tool of historical imagination" (1996: 5). It is a way of imagining the *past* in relation to any given location. It asks and responds to the question "what happened *here* back *then?*" However, place-making is also a way of engaging the present and the future, actions which are not necessarily separate or separable. In this chapter, I expand on this notion to show how engagements with the past also serve to make place in the present, while shaping possibilities for the future as well. Thus, my ethnographic work shows that place-making is not only about historical imagination, but also about making place and community in the present and for the future.

Chapter 2 examines Euro-American practices of historical production that enact this place, The Old Point or Norridgewock Mission, as a site of Wabanaki conquest and a site of American National significance. First, I examine Euro-American historiography to demonstrate how and when this place came to be represented as the place of Wabanaki conquest in 1724, despite the fact that the documentary and early historiographic evidence contradicts this narrative. I unpack

how projects of imagining and storying this place and its past through poetry and plays in the 19th century dramatically altered how historical production and local imagination would subsequently enact it. Next, I explore how historians, archaeologists, locals, and various state agents mobilize this historiography to enact this place as an indicator that nationally significant history happened *here*. In particular, I consider the process and implications of claiming a place and history that pre-date the founding of a nation-state as significant to that nation-state, a process that expands the temporal boundaries of the nation-state backward. I reveal how historical "knowledge" about this place is contingent and constructed, and how various imaginings of this place have enacted the place anew in ways that have created and perpetuated the presumed absence of Wabanaki peoples, despite evidence to the contrary. And I consider how this nationalist construction of Norridgewock comes to be deeply meaningful to Madison locals.

My focus on Norridgewock as a "national place" in this chapter draws directly from Annemarie Mol's theory on the body and applies it to place. I show how the various enactments of this place as a nationally significant site produce a place multiple that is "more than one - but less than many" (Mol 2002: 55). That is, the literary and historical production, archaeology, and Catholic claims of inclusion that I investigate all enact Norridgewock in slightly different ways, yet because they all stake a claim to national significance, they all "hang together." As Mol points out in her work, the fact that different enactments cohere begs the question of how this is done. In this chapter, I unpack how people make these different practices of place-making – for instance poetry and play-writing, historical production, and Catholic

beatification ceremonies – cohere.

I argue that part of what makes it possible for these multiple enactments to cohere is that they all rely in some way on an indigenous erasure narrative, which they also create and/or perpetuate. All of these enactments are informed by settler colonialism as a "structure not an event" (Wolfe 2006; see also Kauanui 2016), a structure that follows a recognizable pattern of erasing in order to replace (O'Brien 2010). Elements of this structure appear in or inform all of the enactments of this place as a nationally significant site, even as they differ from one another. By focusing on one place's history, I am able to show how people engage the history and the place differently over time, while still maintaining the erasure narrative. This approach contributes to settler colonial theory by demonstrating how this structure is built and reproduced over time. By working through how productions of place that are engaged in nation-building are multiple and yet interconnected, this chapter also contributes to social theories of nation-building.

Chapter 3 builds on the settler colonial foundation that I unpack in Chapter 2 and demonstrates how the co-constitutive history of Wabanaki erasure and American nationalism informs how Madison locals relate to "the Pines," a picnic area on land that was part of Nanrantsouak. I explore local stories about picnics, parties, and arrowheads to show how Madison locals enact the Pines as a marker of local belonging. I consider how these stories connect generations of Madison locals over time and distance through an understanding of shared experiences and a sense of shared belonging in Madison. I then examine how Madison locals have distanced the Pines and themselves from the well-known history of violence against Wabanaki

peoples that occurred here. As I show, this is done in part because locals have distinctly separated experiences of violence from the shared practices and experiences in this place that inform their sense of local belonging. Yet this separation between the Pines and the Wabanaki village history is also grounded in the deeper history of indigenous erasure that has shaped how locals understand and relate to this place.

Despite that the memory of the Pines picnics and parties tends to overshadow the deeper history of this place, this history remains present in the local place-names and in the artifacts that people find or discuss. Practices of collecting and circulating arrowheads and stories about arrowheads have long been important and locally shared aspects of place-making at the Pines. I consider how these practices are shaped by and also perpetuate assumptions about indigenous erasure as locals use this history to connect themselves not to a Wabanaki sense of place here, but instead to a sense of Norridgewock as a site of both local and national significance. Thus Madison place-making at the Pines is involved in the affectively laden creation of a sense of local identity that is made possible by the structural erasure of Indian continuity, an erasure which these practices also reinforce. Yet, as I show, not all locals participate in these practices, and some even resist them. Therefore, while these practices inform a sense of what it means to be local, they are not necessary for local belonging. By considering these cases where local belonging does not necessarily rely on these frames of indigenous erasure, I aim to open up a space of possibility for intervening in place and local-making practices that rely on and perpetuate indigenous erasure.

In this chapter, I focus my theoretical attention on unpacking how people use place-making practices to build a sense of belonging through shared experiences and

collective memory. It is here that I most directly flesh out the relationship between epistemology and ontology in place-making practices that I set up in the preceding chapter. In her work on the body, Annemarie Mol considers the possibilities that arise from attending to practice and ontology. In so doing, she opens up questions about how learned frameworks for experiencing, engaging, and ultimately knowing the world inform the practices through which people enact reality. This chapter takes up these questions ethnographically in the context of place-making. I consider how the settler colonial patterns of erasure, what has been termed a settler logics of elimination (Kauanui 2016; Wolfe 1998, 2006), that I fleshed out in Chapter 2 shape how people participate in place-making and community building even when their practices have no direct engagement with Indians. I trace how the patterns of settler colonial erasure and replacement from the 19th century that historian Jean O'Brien (2006, 2010) has investigated have continued to shape local history and community-making into the present. Furthermore, as Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate, while settler colonial and nationalist frameworks underpin and shape local practices of place-making, local-making is not necessarily the same as nation-making. By demonstrating the complex distinctions and relationships between practices of local-making and nation-making, I offer more nuance to our understandings of erasure narratives in settler colonial studies as I flesh out aspects of how these narratives work at both the national and the local levels.

Chapter 4 puts the preceding three chapters into conversation with one another and analyzes the social hierarchies and politics revealed when the town of Madison attempted to incorporate other enactments of this place into a "restoration" project that

town officials conducted at the Pines from 2009 to 2011. The Pines Restoration Project sought to clean up the site by clearing unsightly underbrush and restoring the old picnic area, while simultaneously narrating the site's history and national importance with new monuments. The director of the project wished to portray a sense of the national, local, and Native American significance of this place. But rather than engage in the many different enactments of this place, she attempted to incorporate different and at times incompatible enactments into a single place-making narrative grounded in the authoritative enactment of the place as a nationally significant site. In-so-doing, she made some aspects of the different enactments seem to cohere by choosing which one "wins" (national significance, in this case) and forcing other enactments to conform, stripping them of any practices or understandings that did not. I explore three ways in which the project did this: 1) by restructuring and controlling the space and how people encounter it, 2) by claiming ultimate authority over historical knowledge of this place, and staking that authoritative history to the ground, and 3) by defining this place as a particular kind of "natural" place and directing how people relate to it. I demonstrate how these enactments of place are embedded in a settler colonial legacy of authority and control.

Throughout the chapter, I weave together descriptions of the project with local and Wabanaki peoples' reactions to and critiques of it. I show how the conflict over this project revealed underlying politics and inequalities and consider how this speaks to the ways that settler colonial structures are multiply lived, negotiated, reproduced, and critiqued. In particular, I show how authoritative, state-supported and nationalist place-making can undermine the very people it is intended to benefit. In this case, the

project organizer's attempt to include Wabanaki and local understandings of this place instead served to silence both in different ways. I show how ultimately this led to a disjointed enactment of place that ironically reveals both the place's multiplicity and the politics and power imbalances that undergird this multiplicity, and I consider the implications of this outcome for both theories of place-making and settler colonialism as well as place-making practices on the ground.

By bringing the settler colonial context to the fore and considering how it shapes place-making, this chapter expands on Basso's work on place-making. In *Wisdom Sits in Places*, Basso leaves the settler colonial context in the background, hinting at it now and again when Apache people address concerns about rapid changes that are products of colonization, such as loss of language or feelings of disconnect from their important places. Yet, Basso does not directly engage how this context and the political structures that are part of it impact places or place-making practices. I build on Basso's work by considering directly the impacts of colonial histories and structures on place and place-making practices. Yet, my investigation does not lead me to a clear-cut settler vs. Indian culture clash, as if settlers and Indians are pre-existing groups of people who are inherently at odds. As I show in this chapter, this culture clash explanation, so common in much of settler colonial studies, falls short of being able to unpack the complexity of practices, interactions, experiences, and social politics at play in the conflict over place and history at Norridgewock. My focus on practices allows me to see how this complexity of interactions is multiple rather than dichotomous while also enabling me to recognize when, how, and to what ends people enact an indian/settler binary.

In this chapter, I demonstrate more fully how the place multiple is not the same as a diversity of perspectives that co-exist equally. Instead, place multiple is the product of multiple enactments of place that are embedded in and shaped by hierarchies of power and politics. In the case of Norridgewock, the hierarchies are grounded in settler colonial histories. This chapter complicates Mol's representation of the multiple enactments of the body as equally valid, at least analytically. While I have used her approach to help me give equal analytical weight to various enactments of this place in Chapters 1, 2, and 3, in this chapter I demonstrate that these enactments are not on equal footing. By taking the politics that shape the enactments of place head-on in this chapter, I expand Mol's theory of multiplicity. I consider how different frameworks for knowing and for evaluating knowledge inform how some enactments of place are taken as more important or even more real than others. As I show, in some instances, these hierarchies even make it possible for some enactments of place to appear to some people *as if* they are the only enactments at all, rendering other ways of experiencing, knowing, and being in this place invisible. This is particularly important in the settler colonial context that shapes all enactments of this place.

CHAPTER 1

NANRANTSOUAK: A PLACE OF WABANAKI SURVIVANCE

I can picture how it might have happened. The attack came as a surprise. The everyday buzz of the hot August afternoon quickly turned to chaos as guns fired and shots rang through the village. Some warriors rushed to protect their relatives from the English soldiers while others hurried to help women, children, and elders escape to safety. People ran in all directions amidst flying bullets and smoke from the buildings that were ablaze. Some ran into the woods away from the approach of the soldiers, some fled into the river, swimming or canoeing across the shallows, trying to reach the safety of the other bank. English soldiers shot them as they fled. Some were shot and killed in the river, others were wounded and drowned. Some made it to the safety of the west bank of the river and into the cornfields and woods, others met violence at the hands of English soldiers who had also made it across. Many were killed that day. [25]

Figure 2: Nanrantsouak memorial gathering and corn roast. August 2013. Photo by the author.

[25] This version of the story pulls together Wabanaki, French, and English sources. It is one version among many. I offer it here to help ground readers who are more accustomed to having a historical context as a foundation, but it should be clear that I do not offer this as "the" history of the attack on Nanrantsouak. Instead, it is important that there are many stories of the attack.

Introduction:

"Where the Indians were all killed."

It is the most common response I get when I mention to Wabanaki people that I am studying Nanrantsouak,[26] or Norridgewock Village. Some tell stories that they have heard about the violent attack on the village, offering their thoughts about this history. Many share some of their family stories about how they are connected to survivors from Nanrantsouak. A few ask questions about what I have learned about it in books and archives, but more ask me to weigh in on a historical detail or possibility that they have been thinking about: "Do you think that really could have happened this way?" A few tell stories about other places where indigenous peoples have experienced violence and note similarities and patterns between stories. Others cast their eyes down and nod their heads, keeping their own thoughts and emotions about this place to themselves. Nearly everyone asks me what has brought me to study this history, prodding me to explain how I am connected to this history and, by extension, to them, an exchange that serves to place me in a recognizable history and network of relationships in a familiar landscape.

Nanrants8uak, or Nanrantsouak, was a village on the Kennebec River in ndakinna,[27] the lands that Wabanaki peoples have called home for thousands of years.

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[26] Nanrantsouak, also Nanrants8ak, Narrantsouak, etc is a representation of the pre-anglicized version of the name of the village that would become known as the Norridgewock mission (or Norridgewock village). I use it here to distinguish from the English rendition of the village Norridgewock. Furthermore, Wabanaki peoples are engaged in a major process of revitalization of their communities, languages, and cultures. This process includes reclaiming their histories and places as they work to build their communities beyond the oppressive structures and experiences of settler colonialism. Using a representation of the name in Kennebec Wabanaki language, then, is a political decision and one of my attempts to contribute to revitalization and reclamation movements happening all over Wabanaki country. Naming, after all, has real power in the world (Basso 1996; Brooks 2005, 2008; Cruikshank 1990; Momaday 1981).

[27] Ndakinna can be translated to "our land." (See Brooks 2008; Laurent 1884).

It was a gathering place, crossing-through place, political center, and place of trade. It sat at the confluence of the Sandy and the Kennebec Rivers, just below a set of triple falls where the fish were plenty.[28] Thanks to the regular flooding of the rivers, the land surrounding the village was exceptionally fertile, making Nanrantsouak an important planting place. Here, women kept large corn fields on the peninsulas on either side of the river. Given the abundance of food, this was a good place to live.

Its location at this confluence of rivers made Nanrantsouak an important place in the wider Wabanaki world. From Nanrantsouak, a canoe could travel the networks of waterways to nearly any place in ndakinna. The village sat just a few short days paddle upriver from the coast where people would gather at regular times to collect foods from the ocean, such as shellfish[29] and waterfowl. Paddling north on the Kennebec would take people to Moosehead Lake, the headwaters of the Penobscot and Kennebec River drainages. This was another gathering place, where families from different villages would come together to share stories, make tools, trade, and hunt. Here, too, was Mt. Kineo,[30] an important place in Wabanaki material and cultural world where the culture hero Gluskabe learned to hunt Moose to feed the people, a story that continues to be told among Wabanaki peoples (see Nicolar 2007). These

[28] Jesuit Missionary Sebastian Rasle wrote in a letter to "Monsieur his Brother" dated Oct 12, 1723, about the astonishing abundance of fish: "during one month the fish ascend the river in so great numbers that a man could fill fifty thousand barrels with them in a day, if he could be equal to that work." (Thwaites JR 67: 213-214).

[29] Archaeologists have studied several such gathering places dating back thousands of years at or near the mouth of the Kennebec, such as at Phippsburg, the land that would become Popham Colony in 1607. Since Willoughby's study of the Red Paint burials in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, archaeologists of Maine have debated whether the Red Paint People, as they often refer to the "proto-Indians" who created these cemeteries are ancestors of historic Wabanaki peoples or predate them (See Willoughby 1935, 1980; Moorehead 1913; Bourque2001). Many Wabanaki peoples maintain that these "Red Paint People" are their direct ancestors.

[30] Mt. Kineo was also important because of its massive stores of rhyolite and hornstone, which people used for thousands of years to make tools for their own communities and to trade.

networks of waterways connected Nanrantsouak to villages at Ameseconti and Amarescoggin to the west; Ticonic, Cushnoc, Sagadahoc, and Pemaquid to the south; Penobscot to the east; and the villages at the Chaudière and St. Lawrence seaway to the north, to name but a few.

Given this central location, and its role as a planting place, Nanrantsouak was an important location for trade in both goods and news.[31] Here people hosted travelers who came to visit or passed through.[32] Its location at the furthest reach of land suitable for growing corn during the dip in temperatures following the 1300s, commonly referred to as "the little ice age," put Nanrantsouak in a vital position, as they had something to offer to the peoples to

Figure 3. Map of Ndakinna, Wabanaki homelands Lisa Brooks 2008. Credit for map creation also goes to Jenny Davis.

[31] University of Maine-Farmington and Maine State archaeologists have found evidence of a large longhouse-like structure that indicate this community had the ability to host large numbers of visitors at once. While some archaeologists have interpreted this finding based on Iroquoian traditions of longhouses, therefore suggesting that this may have been where the long-lost St. Lawrence Iroquois of Cartier fame went after their unexplained disappearance from the St. Lawrence, many Wabanaki people feel that this is an assumption based upon limited understanding of Wabanaki capabilities and an over-focus on Iroquoian archaeology. They see this evidence, instead, as indication that their own ancestors were building large structures and hosting large gatherings. During his expedition along the Maine coast in 1605, Indians at the mouth of the Kennebec river told Champlain that people grew corn in abundance upriver, making it likely that these people had larger buildings to house extended kin or host gatherings (Bourque 1989, 2001; Bourque and Prins1987; Champlain 1907)

[32] In his letters, the Jesuit missionary at Nanrantsouak, Father Sebastian Rasle, wrote about people regularly stopping in Nanrantsouak as they traveled (Thwaites JR: 67; see also Calvert 1991)

the north and east who could not grow corn themselves.[33] Thus it became a political center, a role that would become crucial when the French and English established their colonial settlements in and near Wabanaki lands. But most importantly, Nanrantsouak was a place where people lived.

Today, Wabanaki peoples remember Nanrantsouak mostly as a place where people died - a place where English settlers, the forefathers of contemporary Americans, massacred their ancestors. In 1724, after decades of diplomacy and war between the Wabanaki and the New England colonies, troops from Massachusetts and New Hampshire colonies succeeded in attacking and destroying the village at Nanrantsouak. Wabanaki peoples had long been aware of the English strategy of whole-village destruction from its early uses in the Pequot War in the 1630s and in King Philip's War in the 1670s[34] (Baker, 2004). Yet, for Wabanaki peoples, especially the descendants of Nanrantsouak survivors and their kin, the attack on Nanrantsouak has become a specific moment of violence grounded in a particular location back to

[33] In this time period, raiding for corn became part of the local economy. In 1605, Samuel de Champlain learned that many communities had given up growing corn in part because of raiding from Micmac communities to the east. However, Nanrantsouak continued growing corn during this time, suggesting that they were able to cultivate and maintain a strong position politically and militarily, warding off raids possibly with both diplomacy and military strength. This would have put them in an important position politically, if they could trade with Micmacs, act as a central gathering place, manage negotiations and trade between those peoples to the east and those to the west of them (Bourque and Prins 1987; Champlain 1907).

[34] As historian Colin Calloway points out, New Englanders regularly targeted specific villages that they deemed central to Indian political and military power as part of New England war tactics. Once a village had been determined to be a central target, New England strategy was to decimate that village entirely. This tactic also often targeted specific individuals who the English believed to be the "ring leaders," such as King Philip in King Philip's War, Father Rasle in Dummer's War, and Greylock in Greylock's war, although Calloway does not state this explicitly. This combined tactic of targeting a village and an individual was used in the Pequot War, King Philip's War, and Dummer's War, and others (Calloway 1990). As such, other New England tribes also have particular places that have come to embody the memory of English violence within a single act of destruction, such as the Great Swamp in Narragansett country or Mystic in Pequot lands (Brooks 2017 personal communication).

which Wabanaki peoples trace what they understand as a legacy of intergenerational trauma (Brooks personal communication 2017; Girouard interview 2013).

In many Native American conceptions of history, "what happened *here"* is more important than "what happened *then"* (Basso 1996; Brooks 2008; Bruchac 2004; Deloria 2003; Wilson 2005). Narantsouak is a very important *here* for Wabanaki peoples. Nanrantsouak has become a symbol of Wabanaki-English/American relationships, a quintessential example of colonial violence against Wabanaki peoples in their own homelands at the hands of the English. In short, in the words of Maliseet elder Charles LaPorte, Nanrantsouak is the place "where they were all killed" (LeSourd 2009: 108).

In this chapter, I consider how Wabanaki peoples *enact* Nanrantsouak as an important place in Wabanaki histories and sense of community. Parts I and II begin with questions from Wabanaki elders, both women, who prompt thoughtful and active engagement with Nanrantsouak. In Part I, *what do you know?,* I consider how storytelling enacts Nanrantsouak as an important place in Wabanaki history and present. In the words of French-Abenaki poet Cheryl Savageau, "'storying' is a way we find meaning - so sharing memories, that is turning memories into story, is a way to find meaning in the events" (personal comm. Jan, 2017). I focus on Wabanaki stories to demonstrate how stories enact Nanrantsouak as a marker of the traumatic history that reverberates into the present, linking Wabanaki peoples across generations and across geographical distances, and shaping their relationships to one another and to non-Indian peoples. In Part II, *what are you going to do?,* I examine how the many stories that Wabanaki peoples carry about their ancestors' experience of violence at

Nanrantsouak shape their relationship to Nanrantsouak as well as their sense of shared experience and collective memory. As Maliseet poet Mihku Paul explained, “There are so many stories like Norridgewock. It just becomes one of dozens and dozens that you know.” These stories also create a sense of shared experience and collective memory among people who know these “dozens and dozens” of stories like Norridgewock.

When I asked Penobscot elder and language teacher Carol Dana what she thought was important for people to know about Nanrantsouak, she said she thought that people should know some of the different stories about what happened there. In the rich oral history tradition among Wabanaki peoples, there is no one authoritative story about Nanrantsouak; instead there are many stories that coexist. In this chapter, I engage what Lisa Brooks has called a “plurality” of Wabanaki voices (2008: xxix; Womack 1999) and demonstrate how this plurality produces a sort of multiplicity to Wabanaki place-making. That is, Nanrantsouak is not enacted as precisely the same kind of place in all the different stories.

Yet, to follow Mol (2002), while these stories multiply enact Nanrantsouak, they do not render Nanrantsouak many. As I will show, underlying the various enactments is a consistent understanding that Nanrantsouak is a place that has been impacted by violence. More importantly, the multiple stories are part of what enables a sense of community among Wabanaki families who have been impacted by this violence. These multiple stories fashion Nanrantsouak as a place where people come together to share and contemplate, simultaneously producing a sense of place and a

sense of community. Thus, rather than divide, the multiple stories have the possibility to bring people (and place) together.

While Nanrantsouak stories are stories of violence, they are also what Gerald Vizenor calls survivance stories (Vizenor 1994, 2008). They are stories of active rather than passive survival: stories of resistance and vitality that enact Wabanaki peoples as survivors and storytellers rather than mere victims or "vanishing Indians" (Deloria 1969; Deloria 1999, 2004; O'Brien 2006, 2010). Taken together, the stories of violence and the action of gathering that they trigger have the ability to transform Nanrantsouak from a place of violence to a place of gathering.

PART I: "What do you know?"

"What do you know about the church? There's a story that people died in the church - do you know this story?"

The question comes from an elder woman seated at a round table in the middle of the room. Several others nod their heads and turn to me expectantly. It is October 2013 and I am at a gathering of Wabanaki peoples and allies in downeast Maine. Maria Girouard, Maine-Wabanaki REACH[35] Coordinator of Health, Wellness, and Self-Determination, had invited me to present on a panel entitled "Wabanaki Sense of Place." She explained that because the 1724 massacre at Nanrantsouak represents a

[35] Maine-Wabanaki REACH, Reconciliation*Engagement*Advocacy*Change*Healing is a collaboration between the Wabanaki Tribes of Maine and non-Indian Maine citizens. The organization supported the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth and Reconciliation Commission and is involved in implementing the TRC's recommendations. They organize Wabanaki wellness events, ally-building workshops, information sessions, and more all over the state of Maine. (See Maine-Wabanaki REACH 2017).

quintessential example of historical trauma for Wabanaki peoples, and because the gathering was about healing,[36] she wanted to include Nanrantsouak.

I had been humbled by Maria's request and grateful for an opportunity to share and to learn, an important part of community-engaged scholarship. I was also unsure of my inclusion on the panel; some of the members of the audience would be some of my own teachers. What could I, simultaneously a novice learner and also a scholar, have to say to Wabanaki people about Wabanaki sense of place?

To address this concern, I decided to present a decolonizing narrative of Nanrantsouak as a site of resistance rather than the more familiar narratives of Nanrantsouak as a place of violence and erasure. I focused on the words, diplomacy, and strength of Wabanaki leaders and warriors as they attempted to bring New Englanders into their network of relationships and to protect their lands and treaty agreements in the years leading up to the attack on the village. I told the story of the

[36] The event was also directly connected to the Maine-Wabanaki Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as a community healing event. The TRC began in 2013 to collect testimonies from Wabanaki individuals whose lives had been affected by discrimination and abuse in Maine child welfare system. Its goals were to "uncover and acknowledge the truth about what happened to Wabanaki children and families involved with the Maine child welfare system," to promote healing from that system, and to create meaningful change. (See Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth & Reconciliation Commission 2013)

conference at Casco in 1703,[37] when Wabanaki leaders[38] met with the Governor of Massachusetts colony, Joseph Dudley at the two pillars of stones known as the two brothers[39] (Calvert 1991; Drake 1833; Penhallow 1726). During this meeting, one of the Wabanaki leaders[40] used the image of a "wigwam with two fires" to explain their

[37] In present-day Falmouth, Maine. Casco is the site of the Treaty of Casco in 1678 and a conference with Massachusetts colony commissioners in 1701, both of which set up a relationship of brotherhood between the English and the Wabanaki, while also recognizing that this was Wabanaki territory. The Treaty of Casco 1678 ended the northern extension of King Philip's War, which had continued in the north after refugees from Indian communities in the south called on their Wabanaki kin to ally with them against the English, and the English had attempted to disarm and punish the Wabanaki, who had remained neutral in the conflict. The Wabanaki won this war and had effectively evicted English settlers from Maine and driven them to within 60 miles of Boston. In the Treaty of Casco, Wabanaki leaders permitted the English to return to their settlements within Wabanaki territories only if they did not extend their settlements beyond the limits of previously settled lands and paid tribute to local Wabanaki leaders (see Baker and Reid 2004; Brooks forthcoming 2018). In 1701 the Commissioners met with Wabanaki leaders including Moxus from Nanrantsouak, after the death of Governor Bellomont to discuss their alliance. This meeting reaffirmed friendship and peace with the Wabanaki and claimed that the English would not trouble them on their lands, even in if war broke out between France and England. This meeting avoided language about "submission" that had appeared in some treaties, including that of 1693, which the Wabanaki outright rejected. Here "the meeting closed with the ceremonial raising of two cairns at the point 'now mutually agreed for ever hereafter to be called the two Brothers point, from the two pillars'" (Baker and Reid 2004: 103).

[38] This delegation was made up of 250 men in 65 canoes. It included the leaders Adiwando and Hegan for Pennacook, Wattanummon for Pequaket, Mesambomett and Wexar for Amesconti, Moxus and Hopehood for Nanrantsouak, Bomazeen and Captain Samuel for Kennebec, and Warrungunt and Wanadugunbuent for Penobscot (Baxter 1894; Drake 1841; Penhallow 1726; Williamson 1832).

[39] The two brothers had been erected as a symbol of alliance at the Treaty of Casco in 1678 but had fallen to disrepair. They rebuilt the pillars and each added stones in order to strengthen and grow that alliance anew. Dudley had met with a few of the leaders at Sagadahoc the year before and had acknowledged and agreed to participate in Wabanaki diplomacy, "I have seen the Two Brothers, the Record of your friendship, and I am content that they Continue there, and I shall Add one stone in the Governours name as I return, if you shew your Respect to the Queen, and her subjects here" (Baker and Ried 2004: 103)

[40] Rasle does not name the leader, but I suspect it is a leader with whom he is well acquainted, perhaps from Nanrantsouak, Kennebec, or Penobscot.

relationship and lay out jurisdiction in their territories[41] (Calvert 1991:142, citing Rasle's letter of 1723; see Thwaites JR:67; see also Baxter 1894; Williamson 1832). In his speech, he welcomed the English into the Indians' household, offering shared usage of the territory, but made clear that the house belonged to the Wabanaki and the English would enter it on Wabanaki terms. If the English followed these terms, they could expect the Wabanakis' support and protection, but if they failed, they would face the Indians' hatchet. When war broke out again just a few short weeks later, one of the first places the Eastern Indians attacked was Casco, the location of the Two Brothers, signifying that as far as the Wabanaki were concerned, the English had failed to fulfill the necessary obligations of living as their brothers in the wigwam.

In the treaties that ended this war in 1713,[42] the English claimed Wabanaki lands, stating that the French had granted these lands to them in the Treaty of Utrect.[43]

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[41] "Great captain, you tell us not to join ourselves with the Frenchman, in case you declare war upon him; know you that the Frenchman is my brother. We have the same prayer, he and I; and we are in the same wigwam with two fires; he has one fire, and I have the other. If I see you enter the wigwam on the side of the fire where my brother the Frenchman is seated, I watch you from my mat, where I am seated by the other fire. If, in watching you, I perceive that you carry a hatchet, I shall think, 'What does the Englishman intend to do with that hatchet?' Then I stand up on my mat, to behold what he will do. If he raise the hatchet to strike my brother the Frenchman, I take my own, and I run toward the Englishman to strike him. Could I see my brother struck in my wigwam, and I remain quiet on my mat? No, no, I love my brother too well not to defend him. Therefore, I say to you, great captain, do nothing to my brother, and I shall do nothing to you; remain quiet on your mat, and I shall remain at rest on mine."

[42] The war ended with a series of three treaty conferences in New England, one at Boston, one at Portsmouth, and one at Casco. The English intended the Casco conference to bring the terms that had been agreed upon at the conference held at Portsmouth earlier that year to more of the Wabanaki communities in the territory of Maine. From Wabanaki perspectives, however, this conference was intended to open the negotiations to more of their peoples rather than to spread word of already decided upon terms (see Baker and Reid 2004).

[43] In the Treaty of Utrect, the French ceded "Acadia, in its entirety, according to its ancient boundaries" to the English. However, these boundaries were not specified and would be the cause of much disagreement in the years to follow, as the English interpreted this to mean a much larger expanse of land, one which gave them control of the entire coastline, while the French maintained a more modest interpretation, some even claiming that the lands in-between Acadia and New England belonged to the Wabanaki (Baker and Reid 2004: 93).

Wabanaki leaders, however, refuted this claim.[44] During this time period, Nanrantsouak became a critical site of resistance to English encroachments into Wabanaki lands, and Nanrantsouak leaders became increasingly important diplomats.[45] When diplomacy was unsuccessful, Wabanaki warriors asserted their claim to their lands by force - destroying forts and settlements that had been built outside of agreed-upon boundaries and taking retribution[46] for violations to treaty agreements.[47]

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[44] As the chosen Wabanaki orator, Kennbec leader Terranaugons said of the 1713 treaty at a meeting with Massachusetts commissioners a year later, "The French never said anything to us about it and wee wonder how they would give it away without asking us, God having first placed us there and They having nothing to do to give it away" (Baker and Reid 2004: 86; Doleac 2010; Baxter 1913). According to historians Baker and Reid (2004), the English and Wabanaki would work towards agreements on trade and alliance, they would not agree on the land.

[45] Kennebec leaders, particularly those from Nanrantsouak, had long been important diplomats, particularly during the peace negotiations following King Philip's War, which extended into Massachusetts colony's northern front and continued until 1677 (Brooks, forthcoming 2018).

[46] Wabanaki warriors most often killed cattle in retribution for broken agreements or as payment when they felt they had been cheated at trade. Wabanaki leaders described this situation in May of 1720 when they appealed to Governor Shute to meet with them in order to settle land disputes: "When your Excel was at Arowsick we had some disputes about your people [settling] in this Country […] your people are building up our great River [Kennebec] and how far they intend to goe we cant tell but should be very glad they will make us sensible of that just right and how farr they intend your bounds should run […] we believe that some Gentlment have sufferd by having their Creatures kild for want of this matter being settled for we are told by some that they intend to come as high up as Nerigwalk and taike from us our Planting Fields [….]" (Minot Letter of 1720, Collections of the Maine Historical Society). The transcription of the manuscript here is my own. The form of the text is original, but I have made some adjustments to spelling for clarity. Any errors are mine alone.

[47] As Governor Vaudreuil of New France wrote to Governor Shute in 1723: "I know not what you now think of the War with the Abanakeys which you have drawn upon your selves, in Taking and possessing (against all right) their Land; you may see that it is not so Easy a thing as you thought at first to reduce these Indians; I can likewise Assure you, that you will find more difficulty in the pursuit than Ever for that besides their Resolution of Defending their Countrey as long as any of them remain and not to hearken to any Accommodation until you entirely abandon all their Rivers, and order that things be set on the same foot as they were before the Treaty of Utrecht, all the Indians of other Nations to whom they have reported the Evil Treatment which they have received from you, have taken up the hatchet for their help or succour, and are ready to strike the blow on all sides, to Revenge the Abanakeys their Countreys and Friends, and to Deliver them from the Yoke and Oppression which you would reduce them unto; have they not in Effect reason, what new right have you acquired upon the Abanakeys and their Lands; I know not of any, the Treaty of Utrecht do's Conceed to you L'Accadie, Conformable to its Ancient limits; the Lands of the Abanakeys are they Comprehended? if so wherefore do's the same Treaty add in the I5th Article that there shall be named on each part Commissioners for the Regulation of the limits between the two Crowns and to determine the Indians that are Subjects or Friends to either one or the other?" (Baker and Reid 2004: 94-95).

In July 1722, claiming that the Wabanaki had broken the terms of the Arrowsic Treaty of 1717, despite that their assertions for their lands had remained consistent, Governor Shute of Massachusetts colony declared war on the Eastern Indians (Morrison 1984; Baxter 1894: 131; Boston Courant 1722). In this war, Nanrantsouak village was a main target for New England forces. On August 23, 1724, New England forces attacked the village, killing men, women, and children.[48]

"There is a story that people died in the church - do you know this story?"

The question throws me off. I did know this story. In fact, I have heard the burning church story so often and in so many places in Wabanaki country that I can hardly remember where or from whom I first heard it. This story enacts Nanrantsouak as a place of violence for many Wabanaki peoples, especially the descendants of those who survived the attack, people who today share a sense of belonging with both the communities they are now part of and also with other descendants of Nanrantsouak. This is the story that Wabanaki peoples most commonly link to their understanding of historical trauma that reverberates through time in the memories, bodies, and stories of Wabanaki individuals, families, and peoples.

I had deliberately left this familiar oral tradition out of my talk and chosen to focus instead on the documentary history for two reasons. First, I had not wanted to insult any of the audience members by telling them a story that they already knew. Second, I felt that this was not my story to tell; instead the story belongs to the

[48] Vaudreuil blamed the English for this war. As he stated in a letter to Lt. Governor Dummer in a letter in 1724: To Dummer in 1724: "If you had Imitated the Governours of Boston your predecessors, Contented yourselves to Trade with the Abenakey Indians and had built no fforts on their Lands, all this Continent would have been in peace." (Baker and Reid 2004: 95).

descendants of Nanrantsouak survivors who carry it. Yet, I had inadvertently separated oral traditions from historiographical traditions, both of which are deeply engaged in place-making and meaning-making. By excluding this expected oral history of violence, I had left out the most salient marker of the experience of violence at Nanrantsouak for Wabanaki peoples, the burning church story, and unintentionally downplayed the violence against Nanrantsouak village.

With her question and the hint of challenge that carried in her tone, the elder asserted that the violence of the attack on the village is central to a Wabanaki sense of place at Nanrantsouak. She also made an important claim to truth and knowledge - she did not ask me if I had *heard of* the story, she asked me if I *knew* it. In other words, as a researcher making a claim to knowledge, I should know this story. Given the focus on history and healing at this gathering, omitting it was a serious error on my part.

Remembering Violence: Stories about the attack on Nanrantsouak

"So now I'll tell you the story, as it has been told among us, of Norridgewock, when they were all killed - where the Indians were all killed after the priest sold out the Indians," begins Charles LaPorte of Tobique First Nation, a Maliseet community in New Brunswick with deep ties to the lands that have become Maine (LeSourd 2009: 108).[49] As he tells this story to linguist Karl Teeter, LaPorte proclaims that he will tell it "*as it has been told among us*" (1963: 108, emphasis mine) and includes the phrase

[49] This story was published in *Tales from Maliseet Country*, a bilingual book of Maliseet stories that Teeter recorded from elders who had been born prior to 1900 (LeSourd 2009). These stories, in both oral and text form, continue to be circulated among members of many of the Maliseet and other Wabanaki communities, some of them carefully photocopied and ring-bound into booklets, such as the one Carol offered to me. These books and booklets sit on the shelves at tribal offices like Carol's, in community libraries, and in personal homes.

"they say" throughout his telling, making it clear that this is a historical tradition which is well known among his people. He ends with, "that's the way the story went I was told about (those) Indians long ago" (110).

In LaPorte's story, the priest tells the villagers to all meet in the church for confession and communion. He instructs them not to bring weapons into the church. Most attend, except a young girl who stays home to care for a newborn whose parents go to church. While everyone is gathered together in prayer, the priest pulls out a handkerchief and signals with it, and the English soldiers who have furtively surrounded the church begin shooting into it. They shoot anyone who attempts to escape through the windows while they pile wood around the outside. They then light the church ablaze with the people trapped inside. The young girl who had been caring for the baby escapes and watches from afar as people die in the burning church.[50] The girl travels for nine days to Maliseet country, bringing with her the memory of Nanrantsouak, and is later counted among Maliseet ancestors. In this way, she forever ties the Maliseet to Nanransouak in the memory, story, and bodies of her descendants.

While there are many stories about the attack on Nanrantsouak among Wabanaki people, they all share certain themes and images. All of them encode experiences and memories of violence at the hands of Europeans. These stories also all include one or more of four inter-connected iconic figures: a burning church, a prophecy, a priest, and a surviving witness, which shape Nanrantsouak as a place of violence "where they were all killed," a place of tension between old and new lifeways, a place of betrayal or treachery, and a place of survivance.

[50] It is not clear from the published version of LaPorte's telling what happens to the infant.

The Burning Church: Nanrantsouak as a place of extreme violence

In the summer of 2013, I met with Donald Soctomah, Passamaquoddy Tribal Historian, in the research room of the Indian Museum at Motahkomikuk.[51] We sat together at a small table, surrounded by documents, images, folders, and museum objects. I asked him what he thought was important to know about Nanrantsouak. In response, he shared a synopsis of stories about the attack on the village:

> The people had gathered for mass in the church. The priest had told them not to bring their guns to mass, because they should hold mass as Christians with no weapons in the church. During mass, the English quietly surrounded the church. They then opened fire into the church from the outside. They shot anyone who tried to escape. Anyone who did escape was shot on their way to the river, or in the water as they tried to swim across the river to the safety of the bank on the other side. They also hunted down and shot anyone who didn't go to church that day. In some versions of the story, he said, the English set the church ablaze while many of the people were still inside it, and shot anyone who tried to get out. Many people died in the church. This was why, he said, the people didn't move back to Nanrantsouak. The survivors came back to care for and bury the dead, but then they scattered. Even if they may have tried to resettle there, or the Jesuits may have tried to rebuild the mission there, it would ultimately fail because this had become such a violent place. *It would have been like a graveyard,* he said, *and it was too painful for people to live there again.*

In Donald's synopsis the church is a central image.[52] The people are gathered inside it for mass when the English attack, it hinders their escape, and it enables the English to kill them more easily. Similarly, in the story that an elder Penobscot woman conveyed to ethnologist Fannie Hardy Eckstrom in 1932, the church is a central

[51] Motahkomikuk, also known as Indian Township, is one of two Passamaquoddy reservations in Maine.

[52] The church is also a central image in Convers Francis's synopsis of Wabanaki stories about the attack, although he does not mention fire: "A tradition is sometimes mentioned in that neighborhood [Norridgewock] that when the English troops reached Rale's village, the Indians and their priest were all in their church, engaged in some religious service; and that the English, before they were aware of their danger, rushed in and cut them all down without mercy, priest and people, in the midst of their solemnities" (Sparks and Francis 1848: 321-322; cited in Eckstrom 1934).

feature: “She said that the English were discovered by an old woman who went out to collect firewood; that the people were all in church at the time, and the priest was killed first of all, and then the church was set on fire” (Eckstrom 1934: 545). These stories all have much in common, but whereas LaPorte’s version marks the priest as a traitor, Donald and the Penobscot elder’s stories leave open whether the priest was unwittingly responsible or actively traitorous, a theme I will discuss in depth below.

In his story about the attack, Charles LaPorte highlights the terror that the people trapped in the church felt from the perspective of the young girl who witnesses the scene: “That girl who had gotten away, they say, she heard her brothers and her sister, and her father, and her mother who was crying from the pain of the fire. They all cried out most pitifully, they say. They were being burned to death as the church was burned down. They were burned up along with it” (LeSourd 2009: 110). While Donald points out that not all of the stories portray people dying inside the church when it is set on fire, his stories express how the horror of the attack stayed with Nanrantsouak. While people returned to the village and some may have attempted to live there again, Nanrantsouak had been transformed to a place “like a graveyard.” It was no longer a good place to live.

The story of the burning church is important for several reasons. For one, New England militias regularly burned the churches when they attacked missionized Indian villages during periods of warfare between 1670 and 1765.[53] The attack on Nanrantsouak in 1724 was the third time that the English had attacked Nanrantsouak

[53] This was particularly common in the territory of Maine after Massachusetts passed an act that expelled Jesuits from the territories they claimed in 1700 (Baxter 1894: 43). Wabanaki people also burned colonial churches during their raids on New England villages (Brooks 2016 personal comm).

since 1700,[54] and in each previous attack the English had also burned the church[55] (Calvert 1991; Morrison 1984). Thus, the image of a burning church was familiar to Wabanaki peoples. Yet, the *stories* of the burning church do not include these other instances; they always refer specifically to the attack on Nanrantsouak on August 23, 1724. Thus, these stories are not really about a church being set ablaze. Instead, they construct this attack as an extraordinary moment of violence perpetrated by the English against Wabanaki men, women, and children in their own village on their own land.

Second, this story is important because it contradicts the English sources in the documentary record. The English story of the attack also has a burning church[56] but the details are different. This story is based mostly on the sworn statement of leader of the English forces, Captain Johnson Harman,[57] to the Lt. Governor Dummer of Massachusetts Colony, as well as on Thomas Purchase's interview of Harman's second in command, Captain Jeremiah Moulton[58] a few years later (Sparks and Francis 1848; Hutchinson 1767; Williamson 1832; The Boston Courant 1724). After the attack on the village, Harman assigned forty men to guard while the rest slept in the wigwams in the village. The next morning, they gathered the bodies of the dead

[54] They attacked it once in 1705, and again in 1722. They also attacked the mission village at Panawamske one year prior to the 1724 attack on Nanrantsouak and burned their church to the ground (Kolodny 2007).
[55] In 1714, the Jesuit missionary at Nanrantsouak, Father Sebastian Rasle, wrote Governor Shute insisting that he send materials and laborers to rebuild the church that his men had burned down (Calvert 1991)
[56] This oral history and documentary evidence of the burning is further corroborated by the archaeological studies that have been done at the site of the old village (Spiess 2014 Personal Comm. Cowie 2000)
[57] Also appears as Harmon and Hammond in the secondary sources.
[58] While Captain Harman was the commanding officer, and therefore gave the official report to the governor and also received a promotion, it was Captain Moulton who actually led the attack on the village. Captain Harman had taken half of the troops into the cornfields to the south of the village and did not participate directly in the attack (Francis 1845; Hutchinson 1767).

that were not lost in the river and collected their scalps in order to claim the bounties on them in Boston. They searched the village for goods, destroyed the food stores, and left, marching south to return to their whaleboats at the fort at Ticonic.[59] After they had marched away,[60] Christian, one of the Mohawk scouts that they had hired, turned back and set the church and homes on fire.[61]

My point here is not to suggest that any of the stories are a "true" account of events. Rather, if we are to fully understand the importance of Nanrantsouak it is vital to spend time not only with the documentary record, but also with community members and storytellers. It is only when we have all of the perspectives that we are able to even begin to understand the full impact and meaning of a particular place or past to the many communities for which it is important. In this case, the different stories reveal different meanings and enactments of place. For the Wabanaki, these stories enact Nanrantsouak as a place of English violence against their people. For the English, these stories enact Nanrantsouak as a place of English victory over the "savages." These different stories enable different kinds of action, for instance the story of English violence enables a claim to retribution or reconciliation over Nanrantsouak, whereas the story of English victory enables a claim to ownership of Nanrantsouak lands.

The Prophecy: a place of tension between old and new lifeways

For the most part, both English historians and Wabanaki storytellers assert that the attack on Nanrantsouak caught the villagers by surprise. The burning church

[59] Present-day Winslow, Maine
[60] None of the available sources specify how far they had marched before Christian turned back.
[61] It is not clear from the statements whether he had been ordered to do this or did it on his own accord.

exemplifies this point, painting the attack on Nanrantsouak as a sudden and unthinkable act of violence. However, some of the stories portray the attack as anticipated, a culmination of escalating violence against which the people had received warnings.[62] In her well-researched historical fiction,[63] *In the Shadow of the Steel Cross* (2015), Louise Ketchum Hunt of Penobscot Nation suggests that the attack on Nanrantsouak was foretold and expected, at least by some villagers.

In the story, the widow Agnes is awoken in the early morning hours by the spirit of her husband. He warns her to prepare to take their children and leave the village because of "the danger that may come here" (72). She seeks advice about this dream from the medicine man, Midgee, who tells her that he has also seen signs that something bad was coming (73). Midgee "interpreted [Agnes's] dream as one that warns of the end of the tribe" (10).

This moment in the story incorporates the tradition of prophecy from Wabanaki storytelling, while also recording and storying history. For example, the death of Agnes's husband encodes historical events that impacted Indian-settler relations and led to warfare in this time period. Agnes's husband had died some years

[62] By 1724, New England had been officially at war with the "Eastern Indians" for two years and they were specifically targeting Nanrantsouak as the political center of the Eastern Indians at the time. Troops had already attacked Nanrantsouak on several occasions, most recently in the winter of 1722, when English troops found the village deserted with a note on the church door signaling that the people had been expecting them. The note read: "Englishmen, I that am of Norridgwock have had Thoughts that thou wil't Come and Burn our Church & Our Fathers House to Revenge thy self without Cause for the Houses I have Burnt of thine. It was thou that didst force me to it, why didst thou build them upon my Land without my Consent." (Baxter 1894: 122).

[63] She weaves together documentary evidence and the oral histories of her family, her Penobscot community, and her Catholic faith to tell a vibrant story of events and experiences leading up to the attack on Nanrantsouak in 1724 from the perspective of people living in Nanrantsouak, bringing history to life and reminding readers that Nanrantsouak was a place that was *lived*. Her story follows both historic characters such as the Jesuit missionaries Sebastian Rasle and Jaques Bigot and the chiefs Mog, Taxous, and Bomazeen and fictionalized characters based on real community members, such as the medicine man Midgee, the widow Agnes and her children, and others.

earlier after stepping on a metal trap that English settlers had placed well within Nanrantsouak territory. With his back-story, Hunt highlights English encroachment into Wabanaki lands and the dangers that this brought with it.[64] That the spirit of Agnes's husband appears in a vision to bring her prophetic news to protect their family highlights the relationship of care that ancestors continue to have with the living and suggests they are vital to the survival of the people.

Later in the story, the medicine man Midgee also foresees the 1724 attack on Nanrantsouak. His vision enables him to warn the villagers to leave the village for safety until the danger passed.[65] While he is unable to convince everyone, in part due to Père Râle's doubt of this vision, a point to which I will return in the next section, he does convince some families who decide to leave the village until harvest time:

> "For several days Midgee received signs indicating great evil and disruption for the tribe. His visions were those of the death of Père Râle. […] He knew that he had to warn Père Râle to get ready for an awful event ahead of them. So, he followed the priest around waiting for a chance to tell him to get away. He urged the elders to move outside the stockade for a few days. They should go into the woods on the other side of the river. About three families packed up to make a trip up river, but they said that they would come back for the corn harvest" (94).

In these passages, Hunt breathes new life into a long oral history tradition wherein prophecies or visions about attack on Norridgewock allowed some people to escape, insuring their survival. In a story about the 1724 attack recorded by ethnologist

[64] Throughout this time period, Wabanaki leaders and warriors used both diplomacy and weapons to protect their lands from English encroachments that endangered Wabanaki peoples' lives and food sources. When the English failed to recognize or enforce the boundaries that Wabanaki leaders had negotiated, Wabanaki warriors often retaliated by attacking English villages, especially saw mills and dams that affected the rivers on which Wabanaki communities depended, and forts that Wabanaki leaders felt indicated English potential for warfare despite declarations of peace.

[65] see Calloway 1990; Brooks 2005 for more information about this common Wabanaki practice of relocating deeper into their territories to escape a threat, and returning after the threat passed.

Frank Speck,[66] Francis Neptune, an elder Speck identified as Wawenock[67] who lived at Bécancour,[68] tells of an old woman who attempted to warn the community about the coming attack on the village "as she had had a presentiment of trouble," but "her folks ridiculed her, saying she was silly with old age" and therefore her attempt to save her community failed and she was only able to save herself and her grandson. This story may be directly linked to the oral history tradition in Louise Ketchum Hunt's family that informs her story. As she explains in the preface, her own ancestors who survived the attack on Nanrantsouak relocated to one of the mission villages near Trois-Rivières before eventually marrying into a Penobscot family.

The most well-known prophecy story about the attack on Nanrantsouak has been carried by the Soctomah family throughout the generations since 1724. It is a story that has been documented repeatedly since that time, including by early Maine Indian ethnologist Fannie Hardy Eckstrom (1934) and current Passamaquoddy tribal historian Donald Soctomah (2003). When I met with Donald, he shared this story with me as it had been passed down to him:

> When he was a child, an elder told him that his family came from the Kennebec River, but, he said, he didn't think much on it at the time. As he got older he thought more about it, so he went back to the elder and asked him. The elder told him this story. Members of the Soctomah family were healers and spiritual leaders, members of the meteoulin medicine society. One of the Soctomah men had a vision that the village was going to be attacked, that the people would be trapped in the church and they would die

[66] It is important to note that Frank Speck developed a reputation for being untrustworthy or a nuisance and not all Wabanaki people recall him fondly. At Penobscot, for example, some families tell stories about offering Speck made-up legends or false information so that he would go away. Thus, Speck's ethnographic data is considered suspect, at best, among many Wabanaki. (see also Bruchac 2018).
[67] Speck suggests that Wawenock homelands were near the Sheepscot River, just to the east of the Kennebec River, but that these people were closely related to the inland Kennebec peoples at Nanrantsouak (Speck 1928)
[68] Present-day Wôlinak, an Abenaki Reserve outside of Trois-Rivieres, Quebec, just downriver along the St. Lawrence from the Abenaki Reserve at Odanak.

> by fire. So they warned everybody and everybody left the village and then came back, finding the village unharmed. This happened again; they warned the community and everyone left the village. When they came back, they found the village unharmed. The third time that they had this vision and warned everyone to leave, the priest stopped the people and said no, no we're not going to listen to this. And so, the priest refused to leave and convinced many of the people to do the same, and many did. The Soctomah family and some of their relatives and supporters packed up and left. Some time later, the village was attacked and everyone was killed.

According to Eckstrom,[69] the extended Soctomah family escaped with five canoes in all. She recorded this story in 1930 as it was told to her by "an old Passamaquoddy Indian" whose name she does not include, but who describes himself as a member of the Soctomah family. He attributes their escape to "a vision" that his ancestor, an elder who "was a shaman, or medicine man, with clairvoyant powers" had about the attack:

> He dreamed and seen it. 'We all goin' be killed off, let's go Penobscot.' He called all old people together, told 'em they'd been sold, was all of 'em goin' be destroyed by English. Priest was goin' call all of 'em to church to hear word from away – all of 'em must be there. Then English would come. But people said: 'Soctomah all time whining, all time fearing! Nobody can come here, kill us all off!' – 'All right!' – Then took all family, went off on Friday; went down to Boothbay Sat'day night; said, 'Stay on island in Boothbay Harbor.' He eat no supper, no breakfast, hold head down, wouldn't speak. After ten o'clock held up head, said: 'Too bad; all over; all our folks dead now; all killed off by English and Mohawks.' They was all in church, didn't see enemy. Woman had sick child, stayed home; went to door to empty something and seen 'em all around church; screamed, and they come out of church and was killed. Three of 'em escaped. When got Oldtown they says: 'Soctomah, ef [sic] we took your word, we all escaped' (old Passamaquoddy Indian, cited by Eckstrom 1934: 543).

[69] It is important to note that many Wabanaki peoples, and many scholars as well, are distrustful at best of Eckstrom. While some of her historical and ethnographic work is useful, it must also be approached carefully as it can be riddled with historical errors. Furthermore, while she claims that her family had good relations with the Indian peoples of downeast Maine, she also writes about them with a certain distain and is often dismissive and disrespectful of Wabanaki oral traditions and knowledge.

As the Soctomah elder's story suggests, the survivors of the attack admit to the medicine man that if they had only listened to him they would all have escaped. In all of these stories, many of those who survive the attack do so in part because they heed prophetic warnings. These stories also highlight tensions between beliefs and practices in which prophetic visions are significant and the Catholic faith, which dismissed these practices and beliefs but which was (and is) important to many Wabanaki people. This tension plays out in the figure of the priest.

The Priest: a place of treachery or betrayal

In his story about the prophecy, Donald Soctomah points out that the Jesuits and the meteoulin were often at odds with one another. The priests, Donald said, were always trying to undermine the medicine society. Louise Ketchum Hunt also invokes this tense relationship between Jesuit priests and Wabanaki medicine keepers in the interactions between Père Râle and Midgee. For example, Père Râle sees Midgee's "great powers of visions" and work "read[ing] signs and predict[ing] events for the villagers" as mere "superstition" (9). Hunt's Père Râle was "of the same mind as an earlier priest, Père Le Jeune (1591-1664)" who believed that "it is very easy to call irreligion what is merely stupidity" and who referred to Wabanaki knowledge and medicine practices as "absurdity" and "folly" (Hunt 2015: 9-10).[70]

This tension between the medicine people and the Jesuits is common to the Jesuits' own stories about their mission work. In the relations of their experiences,

[70] Hunt cites Mary Celeste Leger's *The Catholic Missions of Maine* (1929) for this quote. However, it was Paul Le Jeune's successor, Paul Ragueneau who wrote these words in his relations of 1647-1648 (Thwaites JR 33: 144-145). This mistaken citation may be due to the fact that Le Jeune was, at the time, the editor of the Jesuit Relations.

Jesuits commonly refer to medicine people and traditional knowledge keepers such as the meteoulin as *jongleurs*[71] or *charlatans*, dismissing them as performance artists, tricksters, or liars[72] (see LeClercq 1910; Le Jeune's relation 1634 Thwaites JR: 6; Morrison 2002, 1984; Rasle's Letter of 1723 Thwaites JR: 67). The Jesuits also attempted to discredit the meteoulin by connecting them to the devil and claiming to be better healers with more spiritual power (Le Jeune's relation of 1634 Thwaites JR: 6; Rasle's letter of 1723 Thwaites JR: 67). Louise Ketchum Hunt includes these aspects of the Jesuits' work at the beginning of her story when Chief Mog calls Père Râle to his home to baptize and bless his prematurely born daughter before she dies; Râle baptizes her and she miraculously lives (6).

Yet, in the prophecy stories, the priest is unable to predict the coming of the English and save the people. As Hunt puts it when she introduces the prophecy: "Père Râle didn't know that Midgee was concerned over an ominous dream that one of the women had told him. Midgee interpreted that dream as one that warns of the end of the tribe" (10). In her story, Hunt puts the Catholic faith on equal footing with the traditional practices, noting a tension between them and also pointing out that these practices and beliefs are vital to the people's survival. The attack is coming and the vision might (and does) save people. In fact, in Donald's story, the priest's willingness

[71] In the English translations of the Jesuit Relations, jongleur is often translated to juggler, but this translation is lacking. A Jongleur in medieval France was a traveling entertainer, a trickster or a jester. Jesuits in North America regularly referred to indigenous healers as "jongleurs" to discredit their abilities as healers, suggesting that their work was either trickery or the influence of the devil or both.
[72] Rasle wrote to his brother in 1723 "At the hour when we assemble, morning and evening, to pray, all persons repair to the Chapel, Even the greatest Jugglers — that is to say, the greatest enemies to Religion — send their children to be instructed and baptized. This is the greatest advantage that we have at first among the Savages, and of which we are most certain, — for, of the great number of children whom we baptize, no year passes that many do not die before they have attained the use of reason; and, as for the adults, the greater part are so devoted and attached to Prayer that they would suffer the most cruel death rather than abandon it." (Thwaites, JR: 67, pgs 131-229)

to dismiss the warnings of the meteoulin and to convince others to do the same leads many of the community to their deaths at the hands of the English. Indeed, just a few hours before the 1724 attack, in a letter he was drafting, Rasle himself wrote that he had had to convince many villagers that it was safe to stay in the village, claiming that the English would not dare attack them in the village at this time of year[73] (Eckstrom 1934, Morrison 1984; Rasle's letter of 1724 Thwaites JR: 67; Calvert 1991; Baxter 1894). Taken together, these stories directly challenge the Jesuits' claims that their spiritual power is superior to that of the meteoulin.

Superior or not, it is important to note that some of the stories portray Rasle as a friend and spiritual leader who the people of Nanrantsouak loved very much. He is also at times portrayed as a tragic hero and martyr who stood up with the Wabanaki against the English and died trying to protect them. According to Dr. Darren Ranco (Penobscot), Chair of Native American Programs at the University of Maine, many Penobscot people see Rasle as a hero (2017, personal comm). In Hunt's telling of the story, Père Râle rushes out into the center of the village and offers himself as a sacrifice or a distraction in an attempt to stop the English from hurting any of his congregation. The English shoot him alongside the warriors who attempt to protect him and their bodies fall together at the foot of the cross in front of the church. When the survivors return to the village after the attack, they find the village in ruins and their "beloved" leaders dead, Père Râle among them, his body brutally mutilated. They

[73] In this final letter, taken by the English after the August 23 attack, Rasle writes that some of villagers had left the village, at least temporarily, because they felt increasingly threatened by the English.

care for his body and take it with them in order to bury it where no one could find it or disturb it again.[74]

However, the image of Rasle's mutilated body does not feature only in stories that portray the Jesuit in such a positive light. In a story that is shared among some families of Mi'kmaq in New Brunswick, for instance, Rasle is killed because he was a traitor.[75] In this story, it is not the English soldiers, but rather their hired Mohawk scouts who killed him for being dishonorable and untrustworthy.[76] This story also appears in documentary records. According to Father de la Chasse, Rasle's body was found with his ears and mouth stuffed with mud, for which de la Chasse blamed the Mohawk scouts (Baxter 1894; Francis 1845; Morrison 1984).

The details about the mutilation of Rasle's body, with his ears and month stuffed with mud, stuck with me from the first time I heard one of these stories. While the English regularly took scalps for bounty, I had not heard stories about this kind of body mutilation by colonial soldiers in this area at this time period. This and the oral stories that suggest that it was the Mohawk scouts who killed Rasle, had me wondering if this ritualized treatment of his body meant anything in Mohawk warfare. In 2013, I shared this story about the Mohawk scouts with two Kanien:keha'ka[77] women, Dr. Kahente Horn-Miller and her mother Kahentinetha Horn, who had

[74] With the exception of the secret burial, this story coincides with French stories in the documentary record, including those of Rasle's superior Father de la Chasse and Governor Vaudreuil of Nouvelle France, who likely received their information about the attack on the village from the 150 survivors of the attack who traveled to Quebec and reported to Rasle's superior that the English had killed him (Thwaites JR 67; Baxter 1894; Morrison 1984).
[75] I have heard this theory in different stories among many Wabanaki peoples in Maine since I first heard it in 2006. I have not yet had the opportunity to travel to the Mi'kmaq communities.
[76] Indeed, Father de la Chasse attributes the mutilation of Rasle's body to the Mohawks, whom he calls the "Savage allies of the English" (Thwaites JR 235)
[77] Known as Mohawk in English.

traveled from Kahnawake to attend the Nanrantsouak gathering. “That sounds like the condolence ceremony,” Dr. Kahente Horn-Miller explained when I asked what they thought about the meaning of the story. Together, in conversation, they explained the potential significance of this connection: In this ceremony, we clear the eyes, and ears, and mouth ritually so that we will see and speak and hear with truth and a good heart. This would be the reverse of that. It seems that it would serve as a warning, both a declaration that this man had betrayed people by not speaking with truth and listening with a good heart, and as a warning to others who would do the same. Taken this way, the mutilation of Rasle’s body may tell a story that portrays him as untrustworthy at best, and a traitor at worst.

Similarly, in many of the stories a Wabanaki person kills Rasle as an act of revenge for betraying the people of Nanrantsouak. In Charles LaPorte’s story, one of the Wabanaki men had defied the priest’s order and brought a hatchet to mass. The man is shot during the attack, but manages to follow the priest out of the church when he attempts to meet the English soldiers and kills him with the hatchet (110). Likewise, in Francis Neptune’s story, “during the massacre one of the Indians tomahawked or shot Rasles in revenge” (Neptune cited in Speck 1928: 172-3; cited in Eckstrom 1934: 554).

These stories of revenge portray Rasle as a traitor rather than a beloved spiritual leader. For example, in Soctomah’s story, the priest made a deal with the English: “Old priest sold ‘em out. Had beaver hat full of silver money from English to get ‘em together where English could kill ‘em” (Soctomah elder cited by Eckstrom 1934: 543). Likewise, in Francis Neptune’s story, the English gave the priest “a bag of

gold and they promised that he should not be killed when the attack was made," in return "on that day he called the Indians into the church" (Speck 1928: 172; cited in Eckstrom 1934: 554). Charles LaPorte's story also portrays the priest as a traitor who "sold out the Indians" and offers details about this betrayal:

> "when he started to preach to the Indians, he pulled some sort of white cloth handkerchief from the clothes he was wearing; and then… And then he did something with it very forcefully - he shook the cloth three times, as if he might blow his nose; but that was just a sign for the soldiers who were apparently to start shooting then, having already surrounded this place, the church" (108).

Here, not only is it the priest's fault that much of the community was in the church when the English attacked, but he also signals to the soldiers to begin the attack. While some stories suggest that he betrayed the village for financial gain, others claim that he betrayed them in exchange for his own life. Whatever the motivation, in all stories Rasle's treachery ends badly for him and is killed during the attack. By painting Rasle as a traitor, these stories also enact Nanrantsouak as a place of betrayal. Nanrantsouak becomes a place where a perhaps beloved leader betrayed the people he for whom he claimed to care.

It would be easy to suggest that the distinction between these two claims on Rasle's character, that he is a traitor or that he was a beloved spiritual leader and community member, (or both), falls along the same lines of tension I described in the previous section, that between Catholics and traditionalists. This may occasionally be the case. However, to offer this as explanation would oversimplify the complexity of these multiple stories. Indeed many of the families that carry stories about Rasle being a traitor or at least partly responsible for the extent of the devastation of the massacre

at Nanrantsouak are or have been until recently majority Catholic.[78] My own family is a case in point. Although we all grew up in the mostly French-Catholic town of Madison where Rasle was celebrated as a hero and a martyr, my maternal grandfather insisted that Rasle was responsible for the deaths of the people at Nanrantsouak.

My grandfather was born and raised in Madison Maine, the small municipality within which the Nanrantsouak village site now sits (see Chapter 3). Madison has had a majority French-Catholic population since at least the early 1900s. As part of this heritage, the town has long celebrated Rasle in an annual festival known until recently as Father Rasle Days. My grandfather, however, regularly made clear his disgust at this celebration, stating that he could not understand how the town could celebrate a man who was responsible for the deaths of so many people. He refused to participate in or attend these local celebrations (much to my very social grandmother's dismay). My grandfather's disdain for Father Rasle stood out as odd given his French-Catholic upbringing and his engagement in local community life.

As I would discover when I conducted a history project in high school, much to my confusion, the stories about Rasle as a traitor do not show up in most mainstream historical narratives, with the exception of a few mentions in the work of Maine Indian ethnologists (namely Speck and Eckstrom) and one historian who calls it a story for which he "know[s] not the slightest historical evidence" (Francis 1845, cited in Eckstrom 1934). Instead, histories that include the attack on Nanrantsouak tend to tell a story either about Rasle as a beloved leader and teacher of the Indians

[78] Wabanaki tribes in Maine, Quebec, and the Maritime provinces had French-Catholic missionaries, and many people from these tribes have been raised Catholic for several generations, although there also exist other faiths, syncretic beliefs, and even anti-Catholic sentiment among the people.

(Sprague and Francis 1845; Calvert 1991; Allen 1849) or as an French conspirator and instigator of the Indians against the English (Baxter 1894; Hutchinson 1767).

That Rasle could have been loved by the Wabanaki had never occurred to me, yet here were these authoritative historical sources, which I had been taught to take as true, telling this story of him. I remember asking my mom where the story that Rasle was a traitor had come from and telling her that all the research I had done in the library claimed he was a great guy. “Well, I don’t know where they would get that story. Your grandfather always said he was a traitor. It was his fault that they were killed.” She responded with such certainty and conviction that it gave me pause and made me question the history that I found in books for the first time. How could these stories and the ones I had grown up with both claim to be true? Was my family mistaken? For me, this story enacts Nanrantsouak as a place of betrayal not only for Rasle’s betrayal, but also because studying this place was the first time I felt betrayed by claims of truth in mainstream histories. I would later learn, however, that stories that portray Rasle as a traitor or Nanrantsouak as a place of betrayal are common across Wabanaki country; they are held by families in Mi’kmaq, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Quebec Abenaki country, and point to the long distances that Nanrantsouak survivors, stories, and memories have traveled.

The Traveling Survivor: a place of survivance

While there are many stories of the attack on Nanransouak carried among Wabanaki families, one image remains constant throughout all of them: the survivor who witnesses the attack and travels to safety, carrying the memory of Nanrantsouak

and the story of the attack. Sometimes the survivor is a young girl, sometimes a grandmother, sometimes a warrior; and sometimes a small group of people. They survive for various reasons including their own keen observations, duties that took them elsewhere, their decision to heed the warnings of prophecy, or their distrust of the priest. Whatever the story, no matter how violent the attack, someone always survives. In Charles LaPorte's telling, the young girl who witnesses the attack and travels to Maliseet country is an example of the traveling survivor figure, but she is not the only survivor in this story. As LaPorte points out, the story includes details of events that occur after the young girl flees, implying at least one more survivor witnessed these events.

Similarly, in Francis Neptune's story an old woman escapes the attack because she stayed home from mass to care for her young grandchild: "When they had gathered in the church the English attacked and the old woman was the only one to escape, taking with her grandchild on a cradle board and swimming the Kennebec River.[79] The rest of the people were killed" (Speck 1928: 172; cited also in Eckstrom 1934). Laporte's and Neptune's accounts may be different versions of the same story, or they could be stories about different survivors. Either way, Speck suggests that it is not only the stories that continue, but also the families of the survivors: "Among the Penobscot there are supposed descendants of this grandchild, whose name was Bamzi, according to an historical legend" (Speck 1928: 172; cited also in Eckstrom 1934).

There are many traveling survivors in the story that the Soctomah elder shared with Fannie Hardy Eckstrom in 1930. The Soctomah family who left Nanrantsouak

[79] Speck notes that this story is also commonly known among Penobscot and Maliseet communities.

before the attack later met up with three survivors. The survivors told them a story similar to that of Francis Neptune's about another woman who survived because she had missed mass to care for a child: "They was all in church, didn't see enemy. Woman had sick child, stayed home; went to door to empty something and seen 'em all around church; screamed, and they come out of church and was killed. Three of 'em escaped" (Eckstrom 1934: 543). According to the stories that community members shared with Eckstrom, descendants of these survivors still lived among the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy:

> "In June, 1932, I heard the same story again, this time from a very aged Penobscot Indian woman, who said that she was the grandchild of the baby saved on the cradle-board, who became Chief Francis Joseph of the Passamaquoddy tribe [….] Six families, in all, came across by land to the Penobscot and were three weeks in getting to Machias. Her uncle, who told her the story, said he had it from his grandmother, the woman who saved the baby; but the grandmother's name was forgotten" (Eckstrom 1934: 545).

In the preface of her novel, Penobscot author Louise Ketchum Hunt shares her family's oral history about her ancestors who were traveling survivors of Nanrantsouak:

> "My father's mother, Louisa Francis Ketchum (1865-1915), came from the family that escaped the 1724 Norridgewock Massacre. Her ancestors moved to one of the Jesuit missions near Three Rivers, Canada. Louisa came to be Penobscot through her family moving to Indian Island. She married my grandfather, Louis Ketchum, a Penobscot, (1840-1925). Their son, Gilbert Ketchum, was my father. When Louisa died, my father was three years old. His older sister, Mary Ketchum Lewis, raised him. Aunt Mary became my grandmother [….] She told me the following account about the Norridgewock massacre that was passed down to her through family oral tradition. I remember this story: 'Our ancestors, a young girl and her brother, escaped the massacre. They made their way to a mission village near Quebec, Canada" (2015: vii).

Hunt's family story shows how survivors moved through Wabanaki territories, following the waterways and kinship networks as they moved from Nanrantsouak on the Kennebec River up to Trois-Rivières and eventually down to Penobscot.

One of the most famous survivors of the violence at Nanrantsouak in 1724 is "Half-Arm Nicola." When I visit with people from Penobscot and tell them about my work and my own connections to Nanrantsouak, they often mention Half-Arm Nicola to me, linking the Penobscot to the history of the attack on the village. Parts of Nicola's story also appear in various publications (Kolodny 2007; McBride 200; Pawling 2007). Nicola is said to have come from Nanrantsouak.[80] After the attack, Nicola was among the survivors, but the memory of the attack was forever written upon his body, as he lost part of one of his arms in the fight.[81] Despite this injury, Nicola is said to have returned to the village after the attack and retrieved the cross that had stood atop or in some stories in front of the church.[82] He then carried the cross east to the community at Penobscot, where I suspect he most likely already had relatives, and married into that community (see Pawling 2016). His grandson, Tomer

[80] I have never heard a story of Half-Arm Nicola that included anything about his life prior to the 1724 attack on Norridgewock. This does not necessarily mean that community members or his relatives do not know or do not tell stories of his life, it only means that stories of his life prior to the attack are not widely circulated and/or are unavailable to outsiders such as myself. Instead, the story of his experience of violence and, importantly here, the story of his survival and the continuation of his family at Penobscot, are more well-known and circulated more widely.

[81] Eckstrom states that he lost part of his right forearm in the attack. (Eckstrom 1945; Kolodny 2007), but I have found no other story that includes this much detail. In other versions that I have heard, it is not clear whether he lost his arm in this fight or had lost it prior to this attack, in another battle.

[82] A similar story circulated in local historical narratives in the 1800s about the church's bell. According to this story, when the group of survivors returned to the village to bury the dead, a young, unnamed, "indian lad" salvaged the bell from the church ruins and hid it in a tree. According to Convers Francis's version of this story (1845), the young man refused to tell where it was hidden and was only happy that it was safe: "Maybe Indian want it sometime," he would say. Some time in the 1800s, a local landowner found the bell in the hollow of a large pine tree that the wind had blown down. I have never heard this story told among Wabanaki peoples. It may be a familiar story in some Wabanaki families, or it may also be a romanticized story created by local landowners to explain the bell that was found. It was kept in the collections of the antiquarian society in the town of Norridgewock, the county seat of Somerset County. The bell is now in the collections of the Maine Historical Society.

Nicola had two children who became prominent members of their community. Tomer Nicola's daughter, Lucy Nicolar[83] became a famous Penobscot activist and performer who did a historic reenactment of "The Norridgewock Massacre" in a pageant in Old Town, Maine in 1933 (McBride 2001: 153). Tomer Nicola's son Joseph Nicolar is well-known as the author of *The Life and Traditions of the Red Man*, a history of the Penobscot peoples from creation to English settlement from a Penobscot perspective, first published in 1893. This story continues to be told among later generations of the same family. For instance, well-known and respected Penobscot elder Norman Shay, Joseph Nicolar's grandson, shared this story of his family's connection to Nanrantsouak via his ancestor Half-Arm Nicola with scholar Annette Kolodny, who included it in the edited republication of Nicolar's *Life and Traditions*, completed in 2007[84] (see also Eckstrom 1945).

It is striking that these prominent Penobscot community members, who were also the grandchildren of the famous Penobscot leader and meteoulin John Neptune, would continue to recognize their connection to Nanranstouak. It is especially striking given the context of the 19th century when mainstream histories of Norridgewock Village were being written in such a way that declared the 1724 massacre to be the "end" of the Norridgewock village and people (a point which I will elucidate in

[83] Both spellings are common. Here, I reproduce them as they appear in publications.
[84] While this is an important text and its republication has made it accessible to many more people than it had been previously, it is also important to note that Kolodny's interpretive work in this republication has been criticized by some Penobscot people. In a review of the republication in *ethnohistory*, Maria Girouard (2008) argues that Kolodny's voice dominates the text, guiding readers to interpret a famous piece of Penobscot literary work from Kolodny's perspective. According to Girouard, this lack of balance overpowers the voice of Penobscot elder Nicolar, as well as the other Penobscot people whom Kolodny consulted but whose voices are not explicitly represented in the text. Tribal historian James Francis has argued that Kolodny failed to adhere to the Penobscot Nation's guidelines for research on Penobscot peoples and history and therefore failed to fully respect Penobscot tribal sovereignty (Francis, presentation at NAISA, 2012).

Chapter 2). These stories enact Nanrantsouak as an ancestral home-place for these, and several other, Penobscot families.

The famous image of Half-Arm Nicola also appears in Louise Ketchum Hunt's story of Nanrantsouak, although not by name:

> "Later that day, Anna and Sebbatt met more relatives and families leaving Norridgewock. They located and shared stored food and supplies that were hidden outside of the village area. Four of the runners, *including one whose arm was missing*, were packing bags to make the trip to the Panawamske, the mission on Indian Island. They decided that Père Râle's steel cross should be taken to that mission where it would be safe. They had to alert the people at Indian Island about the massacre and destruction of their village. They suspected that soon the same soldiers could be moving towards the Panawamske. Villagers at Panawamske had to be warned right away. The runners were last seen heading northeast waving the steel cross as they left the clearing" (2015: 106, emphasis mine).

In her story, Half-Arm Nicola is one of many survivors and his injury may be understood to have been inflicted prior to the 1724 attack. As a runner, he is tasked with warning the village at Panouamske about the English attack.

The cross that he brought to the Panouamskewik from Nanrantsouak in Hunt's and many other stories has become part of Penobscot life. Roger Paul, language instructor at the Indian Island school at Penobscot Nation, told me that the cross had been stored in the basement of the convent until the nuns left in October 2013, and it has been an important part of the Catholic parish on the island. For Catholic Penobscot families, such as Hunt's, the cross is a reminder of the violence inflicted upon their Catholic ancestors living at the mission village at Nanrantsouak. As Hunt points out, some of the Nanrantsouak survivors carried not only the memory of Nanrantsouak with them, but also Rasle's Catholic teachings, which they have continued to pass on through the generations.

In her story, Hunt includes a number of survivors of the attack who survive for different reasons. Agnes's daughter Anna and her friends are camping out at the time of the attack and miss the entire thing, a circumstance Hunt suggests is thanks to the prophetic warning from Agnes's husband. Likewise, these prophetic warnings also enable the medicine man Midgee to get his own family and several other families out of the village and to safety before the attack. Others survive because they are away from the village attending to other business, as she suggests is common for this time of year. Two young men, Sebbatt and Lui, for example, are returning from a trip to one of the trade houses when they spot the English soldiers advancing on Nanrantsouak and take an alternate route to warn the village, but they arrive too late.

When the attack is over, the survivors return, care for and bury the dead, pack what few belongings have not been destroyed, and leave via canoe. Hunt draws on her family's oral traditions and other stories to trace their routes: Midgee and his family leave to join other families on the coast, possibly at Machias. Some families travel upriver to the gathering places at Moosehead Lake (see also Pawling 2016). Anna and Sebbatt travel up the Kennebec to the Dead River and on through to the Chaudière until they reach the missions in Quebec, eventually arriving at Trois-Rivières. Some travel this same route to St. Francis (Odanak) and Bécancour (Wôlinak). Others marry into French and English families and many eventually lose their connection to Nanrantsouak history. Still others stay at or near Nanrantsouak village, or return later.

As Donald Soctomah suggested, not everyone would have wanted to go to the same place. They wanted to keep the people and the memory alive, to carry them on into the next generations, and he thought this was why some people went north to

what is now Quebec, some went to Penobscot, and some went to Passamaquoddy. People also went where they already had relations. This was how Nanrantsouak descendants and stories dispersed throughout Wabanaki homelands while the stories kept them tied to Nanrantsouak across miles and generations.

All of these stories about the attack enact Nanrantsouak as a site of violence against Wabanaki people at the hands of the English, but such stories are not unique to Wabanaki peoples. They are also common among locals from Madison, where the site of Nanrantsouak is located, as well as among many other Maine residents. In most stories told by non-Indian residents of the State of Maine, the English attacked the village killing everyone indiscriminately, even those who tried to escape across the river, leaving the river water swirling with blood. In these stories, all, or nearly all of the villagers are killed, and survivors flee to "Canada." These stories mark the moment of the attack on Nanrantsouak as the "end of the mighty Norridgewocks." This end moment story, what historian Jean O'Brien has referred to as "lasting" (2010), is told over and over again in historiography in the 18th and early 19th centuries and enacts Nanrantsouak as a place emptied of Indians (see Chapter 2).

This is markedly different from the stories told among Wabanaki peoples, which show how and where Nanrantsouak continues as it is carried in the memories, bodies, and stories of survivors. In these stories, survivors travel through their homelands, along the waterways, to another community where they have or make kin relations. These traveling survivor stories connect all these communities to Nanrantsouak and to one another. These stories also connect many important places in ndakinna as they trace people's movements over the land. Donald Soctomah's story

connects Nanrantsouak to Passamaquoddy territories, Louise Ketchum Hunt's story connects Nanrantsouak to Quebec to Penobscot. Charles LaPorte's story links Nanrantsouak to Maliseet territories, and beyond. In this way, Nanrantsouak is enacted as a place that moves, that is carried in the memories and stories of survivors. It is simultaneously enacted as a central place that connects the families of these survivors.

The stories about survivors of Nanrantsouak who traveled throughout ndakinna are corroborated by the French and the English documentary records. French records tell the story that 150 survivors of the attack on Nanrantsouak arrived in Quebec and shared the story of the attack and Rasle's death with his superior, Father de la Chasse (de la Chasses's letter of 1724, Thwaites JR: 67; Baxter 1894; Calloway 1990: 123; Morrison 1984; Calvert 1991). The English also continued to see the Nanrantsouaks as a political entity and military power after 1724, even refusing to finalize peace agreements at a conference in 1726 and rescheduling it for the following year because the Nanrantsouak leaders were not present, they were "in Canada" (*The Conference with the Eastern Indians* 1726). These records also corroborate stories, such as Hunt's, that Wabanaki peoples returned and continued to live at Nanrantsouak or thereabouts for some time following the 1724 attack. For instance, English records show that the Nanrantsouak people continued to attend conferences and sign treaties with the English until the late 1700s, and continued to fight to contain English expansion into their homelands (See "Treaty with the Eastern Indians at Falmouth, 1749." *Collections* 1856; "Treaty with the Eastern Indians at St. George's Fort, 1752." *Collections* 1856; *A Journal of the Proceedings at Two Conferences Begun to Be Held at Falmouth in Casco-Bay*, 1754).

Here Nanrantsouak is a place that moves with the people, who continue to have the power to negotiate with the English even when they are physically located elsewhere. Yet, it also remains a grounded place for which they fight. As late as 1752 leaders from Nanrantsouak reported to the English governor that the English were hunting as far up the river as Nanrantsouak and that this was upsetting the game on which they relied,[85] indicating that Nanrantsouak was still a home-place and hunting ground for the people. It was not until the 1800s that the English-become-Americans transformed the story of the attack on Nanrantsouak into story of utter defeat, a transformation I will discuss further in Chapter 2.

The story of the utter defeat and erasure of Nanrantsouak is also common among Wabanaki peoples, as the historical narratives from the 1800s that popularized this story are as available to Wabanaki peoples as to anyone else. Yet, those stories co-exist with these survivor stories, automatically challenging the "utter defeat" narrative even as it circulates. As these stories demonstrate, Nanrantsouak continued in the minds and bodies of their descendants and families. While the 1724 Nanrantsouak massacre was a violent moment that has impacted the people forever, Nanrantsouak people and place never ceased to exist; they continue in body, memory, and story among Wabanaki peoples today. As such, these stories both enact Nanrantsouak as an important place for Wabanaki peoples and enact the Nanrantsouak descendant diaspora community. Through the stories, people have remained connected to this place even if they have lost connections to one another. These stories, then, have long

[85] Louis, of Penobscot - "I speak at the desire of the Norridgawocks, and for them: above Richmond there are some things doing, which we believe you know nothing of [….] We dislike your hunters, hunting on our ground: They hunt as far as Norridgawock, and thereby spoil our game, and hurt us greatly." (Treaty with the Eastern Indians at St. George's Fort,1752.)

held the potential for the people to do something to retrace these connections and build the Nanrantsouak community again.

PART II: "What Are You Going to Do?"

"What are you going to do for Norridgewock? You people need to do something for Norridgewock and the people who died there."

The question came from Isabelle Knockwood,[86] a Mi'kma elder from Schubenacadie in Nova Scotia. "This was sometime in the mid-1990s" he tells me. I am talking on the phone with one of the organizers[87] of the now-annual Nanrantsouak memorial gathering. "Let me tell you the whole story," he says.

> "I was visiting folks up at Sipayik.[88] I'd gone up there to talk to folks about community building amongst our peoples, to do programming and work on revitalization for our communities. I was sitting at a kitchen table with several community members discussing this work. During the conversation, Isabelle Knockwood, who was visiting the community, asked, *"What are you going to do for Norridgewock? You people need to do something for Norridgewock and the people who died there."*

As I have shown in Part I, the memory of the violent attack at Nanrantsouak has been carried from community to community and down through the generations in the bodies and stories of survivors. Nanrantsouak is well known as a place of violence

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[86] Isabelle Knockwood is well-known for her activism and especially her work on the boarding school experience in Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia. Her book, *Out of the Depths*, tells the stories of the abuses that Mi'kmaw children faced at this residential school (2015).

[87] While it is important, as I explained at the beginning of this chapter, that Wabanaki peoples be represented as whole persons with names, individual self-determination is also important for research ethics with indigenous communities (see Smith 2012). Some of the people I spoke with asked me not to identify their names in the text, preferring to be quoted anonymously and I respect this request throughout. For more details on my methods for representing others, refer to the introduction.

[88] Sipayik is one of two Passamaquoddy reservations that are located about 60 miles apart in eastern Maine, right near the New Brunswick border. Sipayik, known in English as Pleasant Point, is the southern-most of the two. It sits on the coast of Passamaquoddy Bay near Eastport, Maine. The people from Sipayik are known as the salt-water Passamaquoddy. The other reservation, Motahkomikuk, is located about 60 miles north and inland from Sipayik. Known in English as Indian Township, it is located beside a chain of lakes and the St. Croix River near Princeton, Maine. The people from Motahkomikuk often refer to themselves as the fresh-water Passamaquoddy.

even as far away as Mi'kmaq country in what is now eastern Canada, where Isabelle Knockwood grew up with the stories. But the stories not only carry the memory of violence, they also call people to action. Stories, after all, have power that can act upon the world (Brooks 2005; Cruikshank 1990; Momaday 1981; Sarris 1993). These stories eventually led Isabelle Knockwood to reach out to other Wabanaki people about recovering the memory and story of Nanrantsouak:

> "Shortly after the conversation with Isabelle, several Wabanaki community members travelled to Nanrantsouak to visit this ancient community place, and to consider what types of activities could be done to bring indigenous presence back to it."

Many Wabanaki peoples understand the land itself to carry the memory of violence, a memory that has seeped into the very earth. Wabanaki people enact Nanrantsouak not only as a place where violence occurred, but also as a place that holds the ancestors and remembers the violence they experienced there. In this section I consider how this understanding shapes both Nanrantsouak as a place and the people who are connected to it. What does it mean to suggest that this place remembers violence?

What this Place Remembers

"These trees are pretty old. But they're not old enough to have witnessed the violence that happened here. And yet, it is amazing what this place remembers."

Mihku Paul,[89] Maliseet poet and trained sundancer, shares these words with everyone who is gathered together at Nanrantsouak. It is late summer 2013 and I am at what has become an annual memorial gathering. At this gathering, we remember and

[89] Mihku is Maliseet and an enrolled member of the Maliseet First Nation at Kingsclear. She grew up in central Maine, however, and spent much of her childhood with her grandfather who lived at Indian Island, Penobscot Nation. Indian Island, therefore, feels like home to her.

honor those who were killed here in 1724, as well as those who survived and carried the memory of this place with them through the generations. Many of the people here are descendants of the survivors; others are relatives or friends of descendants; all are connected to Nanrantsouak in one way or another. Together we share stories that we carry about this place as we ponder the past and our relationship to it. Many feel affected by the violence that was carried out against the ancestors here and we seek to help heal the wounds that that violence left as we gather together to remember.

Mihku would later describe her first visit to Nanrantsouak as a "very intense" experience with its memory of violence. As she explained, "it's because the power of place, we're all particles, right? We're part of everything. […] And so, place can retain, I think, a sense of memory and a kind of energy around it." While presented with the contemporary language of "particles," Mihku's explanation comes from an older Wabanaki cosmology, a philosophy and understanding about the world that is embedded in Wabanaki language and stories. From this perspective, the memory of Nanrantsouak is held not only in people's minds and stories, but also at the site where the village was destroyed and the dead were buried. As Donald Soctomah suggested (see Part I), this might transform a place so that it is no longer a good place to live because that memory of violence continues both in peoples' minds and in the land.

When I met with Wabanaki languages instructor Roger Paul[90] at Panouamske[91] in the summer of 2014 to discuss my interest in memory and place at Nanrantsouak,

[90] Roger Paul teaches Penobscot language at the Penobscot Nation and is also an instructor and speaker of other Wabanaki languages. He considers himself fluent in Passamaquoddy and Wolastoqe (Maliseet), partially fluent in Penobscot, and able to recognize and understand some Abenaki and Micmac.

he suggested that the word for soil or dirt, *tupqan*, might be of use to me. He explained that the word *tupqan* combines two concepts, the idea of a container and the sense of something that is full. In particular, he continued, this concept gives the sense that something is full of life and the potential for life. But, he told me, it is more than that. As a concept, *tupqan* also relates to the lives of those who came before. In this way, "soil" in Wabanaki conceptualization of it, is full of past life, present life, and the potential for future life. And, as Roger elaborated, the ancestors who came before and are buried in the ground are literally part of any given place because their bodies and their memories become the soil that feeds new life. This means that the ancestors, their energies and memories, are still part of the land where Nanrantsouak stood, and always will be; their molecules (Roger's word) are in the plants and trees and animals that take life from this place. So, while the trees may not have been born yet to have witnessed the attack on the village, as Mihku pointed out in her first visit to Nanrantsouak, those trees do hold the memory of the attack because their life has come from the soil where the ancestors died and are buried. Roger connected this concept with principles of energy in physics and stated that energy never disappears it just becomes something new. This, he said, aligns well with the idea that the ancestors' energy is part of what makes up what people often think of as the "spirit" of a place.

From this perspective, this place is literally full of its past. The past makes place and continues alongside the present and future as things take hold and grow.

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[91] Panawahpske, Panouamske, or Penobscot in English, is the name of the river and territory that is home to the Penobscot people. Today, it is commonly used interchangeably with the Penobscot reservation, known in English as Indian Island, an Island in the Penobscot River just north of Old Town, Maine.

What this means is that the memories that link a person to a particular past and shape how that person's sense of self also connects that person to the land where that past is embedded. This is a connection that is often felt viscerally as the memories in peoples' minds and bodies find connection to the memory that is held in the land.[92]

Over the years, many Wabanaki people have expressed to me that they *feel* a connection with this place. For instance, Maria Girouard, from Penobscot, told me that she has felt drawn to this place since long before she learned that her ancestors, on the Passamaquoddy side of her family, came from Nanrantsouak. Likewise, her partner had always felt an attraction to this place, but it was not until later in his life that a relative and respected community historian told him he was a descendant of Norridgewock through his Penobscot ancestors. "When we learned that," she said," it just made sense." As she explained, "It's as if our genes remember."

Here Nanrantsouak is understood as a place that calls to descendants whose very genes seem to remember their connection to it. This is in part because Wabanaki peoples understand themselves to be related to the land from which they come. Wabanaki literary traditions encode this philosophy and the associated values into stories. For example, one of the most important figures in the Wabanaki creation stories from this area is Corn Mother or First Mother. In Nanrantsouak descendant Joseph Nicolar's telling of this story in *The Life and Traditions of the Red Man* (2007), Corn Mother is created from the plants and comes to join the other first

[92] "As Wilson quotes Winona Wheeler: 'The land is mnemonic, it has its own set of memories, and when old people go out on the land it nudges or reminds them, and their memories are rekindled.'" (Brooks 2008: xxiv).

people: the hero Klose-kur-beh,[93] the first grandmother Nokomi,[94] and the first man Natar-wan-sum,[95] her husband. Corn Mother gives birth to the first humans.

Eventually, she feels a longing for her ancestors, the plants. When she finds her children starving, she convinces her husband to help her rejoin her ancestors and feed her children. Because of his love for her, he carries out her instructions to kill her and drag her body over the fertile fields, spreading her flesh into the earth and burying her bones. He cares for the fields and soon from her flesh grows the corn that will feed her children for generations. From her bones grows the tobacco, which will be used to clear the mind and ground the people in prayer. As Klose-kur-beh explains to the people, they must remember Corn Mother's love and sacrifice by caring for these plants, respecting them, and sharing them with one another. (Nicolar 2007: 139).

The Corn Mother story and the concept "*tupqan*" together show how the land itself, the place itself, holds the memory and the story of the past. This is not a metaphor. Rather than a peg on which humans hang their memories or a mnemonic device to trigger memories that are held in peoples' minds, as social scientists have at times interpreted them (see Basso 1996; 1984, quoted in Sarris 1993), places themselves are understood to contain the past (see also Bruchac 2004). Remembering, then, is not about fashioning a sense of the past inspired by or that creates a place. Instead remembering, especially in the presence of corn and tobacco, is a powerful act that connects the community to the earth and through the earth to the power of

[93] Also known as Gluskabe, Glusk8ba, Gluskonba, etc. Gluskabe is often called the man made from words or stories. He appears in many stories about the creation of Wabanaki homelands and peoples. He is a teacher and a bit of a trickster, and a very important character in Wabanaki traditions.
[94] Nokomi is often translated to "grandmother" or "my grandmother."
[95] Natar-wan-sum can be translated to my sister's son according to Nicolar. In Nicolar's story, first man tells Klos-kur-beh that he was born of the foam from the water. Thus Wabanaki peoples are descendants of the earth or the plant world and of the water or the river and are related to both.

creation from the First Mother herself, who gave birth to the Wabanaki people and sacrificed her life to continue to care for them. This calls for a particular kind of familial relationship between people and the land.

We Go There to Visit

"I try to go there at least once every couple of years," Donald Soctomah told me. The more I talked to people, the more I noticed that Nanrantsouak descendants regularly talk about "visiting" there, and when they do, they almost always bring tobacco. [96] Tobacco, as Gluskabe's instructions illustrate, brings clarity and memory to the mind, connecting descendants to this land and the ancestors. Reggie, an elder from Sipayik, told me that he tries to go to Nanrantsouak, bring some tobacco, and "visit" the ancestors whenever he can. Likewise, Maria Girouard has told me on several occasions that she tries to schedule a little extra time whenever she has to travel to the area so that she can stop by Nanrantsouak. She, too, brings tobacco. As she explained: "They're our ancestors, I think they appreciate it when we come here to visit."

It is important that people use the word "visit" when they speak of going to Nanrantsouak. Visiting implies spending some time in a place with someone. When we visit with relatives, we share stories and we continue to build our relationships. If Nanrantsouak also contains the history and memory of the ancestors, as expressed through the concept of *tupqan* and the Corn Mother story, then to visit Nanrantsouak is also to visit the ancestors. As Maria suggests, this visiting maintains social relationships with relatives from the past who are still very much present in the

[96] Tobacco is an important plant for Wabanaki peoples. It clears the mind and reminds the people of their relationship to the land. This importance in Wabanaki philosophy is part of a deep literary tradition from the creation stories, especially the story of the Corn Mother or First Mother. See above.

physical place as well as storied memory of Nanrantsouak. After all, a sense of shared history and memory in a place is a critical part of a sense of shared belonging among people who carry the same or similar histories (Anderson 2006; Casey 2011; Halbwachs 1992; Mannaheim 2011; Mansfield 1993; Olick et al. 2011; Renan 2011). Visiting Nanrantsouak, then, reinforces ties between people and ancestors, as well as among Wabanaki people through our own personal and shared past, all embedded in the land at Nanrantsouak.

"a group of people got together and made it happen"

As one of the organizers of the memorial shared, after the experience he had when he first visited Nanrantsouak and could feel the weight of its violent history: "I started talking to more and more people about it. So many people at different communities had stories of this place and knew it was a place of great violence and sadness." As he talked to more people, he learned that others had also felt drawn to Nanrantsouak. In one story that was relayed to him,[97] two Nanrantsouak descendants from Penobscot Nation had been participating in a ceremonial run in the area when they both felt drawn to Nanrantsouak and took a detour there to remember Nanrantsouak before continuing the run.

The more people the organizer spoke with, the more interest built in getting together to do something for Nanrantsouak: "That's how it happened. Several people having the same thoughts around the same time, and coming together to make it happen."

[97] I have also heard this story shared on several other occasions over the years.

That first gathering, sometime around 2000,[98] brought people together from all over Wabanaki homelands, including Passamaquoddy from eastern Maine and New Brunswick, Penobscot from central Maine, Abenaki from western New England (NH, VT) and Quebec, and others. People gathered together at Panouamske, where survivors such as Half-Arm Nicola had fled after the attack in 1724, and where many families still trace their ancestors back to Nanrantsouak. As part of the remembrance, Wabanaki community members organized a run from Panouamske to Nanrantsouak, along back roads known as "Nanrantsouak trail," a route that some of the survivors may have traveled to reach the Penobscot village to the east. In this way, Wabanaki and other indigenous and non-indigenous people came together at Nanrantsouak to remember the ancestors who lost their lives in 1724, and to reconnect descendants of those who had survived the massacre.

I first heard of this gathering when I traveled to Quebec as an undergraduate in 2006 and met with some of the members of the Mena'sen band of Abenaki near Sherbrooke. Yvon Mercier and his adult son Yannick had traveled approximately five hours' drive to Panouamske, to attend the gathering (Smith 2008). Yannick told me that the memory of the violence among the descendants and at Nanrantsouak felt heavy, tangible, but the gathering was also "powerful" (Smith field notes 2006, 2007). An elder from Sipayik, told me that they could feel the weight of the violence, but that

[98] No one I have spoken with is quite certain what year the Nanrantsouak memorial began as a formal gathering. Individuals and families had been visiting there for generations, probably ever since the 1700s. The gathering as we know it today began sometime around the year 2000, but its starting date is less important to people than its continuation and growth over time. This is not the case with all events at Wabanaki communities, however. Some events, such as the Katahdin 100, a 100-mile journey from Indian Island to Katahdin, and the Ancestor's Paddle, a multi-day canoe journey from Motahkomikuk to Sipayik, are counted and announced annually with the number of their iteration (such as 25th annual…) which also appear on the t-shirts for participants.

they could also feel a connection with the ancestors and it was clear that gathering there, remembering them, was the right thing to do. But the gathering was not intended to heal the place and the people all at once. Indeed, in Wabanaki philosophy, transformation and healing are processes that require ongoing work and repetition. As such, the gathering has taken place annually since that initial run, and has been growing and transforming ever since.

Many of the regular attendees have expressed that the feel of the Nanrantsouak has transformed significantly since those first visits. In 2013 a participant in the gathering described the site as "peaceful," a descriptor I have never heard associated with this place. But there is still more work to be done. As Mihku shared about her visit to Nanrantsouak in 2014:

> "What I experienced at Norridgewock, my first time being at the Pines, is that the energy there is still very disorganized. It felt to me like a very global disorganized sadness. There's an intensity there, as I said, that is still very ill-defined, and I really think […] that if we go there often enough and you know gather, like in a good way, you know, sharing the food and remembering and so forth, that eventually each of us in whatever way that […] we draw meaning from such an experience, that we're going to have a, I think an experience of a little bit more specificity. I think things will become a little clearer over time, I really do."

As Isabelle Knockwood suggested with her question, "what are you going to do for Nanrantsouak," the memory of the violence at Nanrantsouak is a call to action. The stories of violence draw people to Nanrantsouak just as they connect people to one another across Wabanaki homelands. And this memory and these connections have led to a growing drive to heal the wounds from deep histories of violence which Nanrantsouak exemplifies, a drive that has been bringing people together annually for a memorial gathering at Nanrantsouak. In this way, the stories about the attack and the

memories embedded in the people and in the land are bringing people together, enacting Nanrantsouak anew as a place of gathering and healing.

Conclusion:

Mizi Negewet kamigwezoi, Nemikkwaldamnana Nanrantsouak:
Families Gathered Together, We Remember Nanrantsouak

We are sitting together in a circle on the very earth where our ancestors lived. We have just completed the memorial for the ancestors who were brutally killed here by an English militia in 1724. We do this every year. We live with their memories and the violent legacy of this place that has affected us forever. Through stories, we keep their memory alive and we share these memories with one another. This gathering is one of the ways we maintain connections to our ancestors, to this place, and to each other. We sit together, eating corn that the women have roasted, sharing the food that we have brought, telling stories, laughing and gossiping, sharing news and business, all while children play amid the trees around us. An elder from Penobscot nation, whose ancestors came from here as well, draws our attention to this moment. Remember, *he says,* this place suffered a terrible violence and we must always remember that. But that it is not all. This was also a place of life. For thousands of years our people gathered here. They lived their lives, planted food, raised children, laughed, loved, argued, grew old, and died. They came together here in council and in trade, built alliances, and prepared to protect their homes and families from threats. We must remember the lives lived in this place and honor that too. *As he speaks, I can't help but imagine the liveliness of this place. People gathered together, eating corn that the women have cared for, sharing meat that the men have brought, telling stories, laughing and gossiping, sharing news and business, all while children run and play amid the homes and trees around them….*

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The Nanrantsouak gathering has transformed Nanrantsouak, taking its enactment as a place of violence and reconfiguring these stories to enact Nanrantsouak as a place of gathering. This gathering, while new, is also understood to be a re-enactment of Nanrantsouak as it once was. For centuries, it was a central gathering place for the people who lived in the upper Kennebec River valley. In the late 1600s and early 1700s, it became a political center and rallying place for Wabanaki peoples, a node in a wide network of people allied against English encroachment into their

homelands. And it became a direct target for the English colonial government of Massachusetts, culminating in the violent attack on the village in 1724.

As I demonstrated in Part I, the memory of this historic moment enacts Nanrantsouak as a place where the ancestors experienced horrific violence. While the survivors dispersed throughout Wabanaki homelands, they have remained connected to Nanrantsouak by memory kept alive in stories and in *tupqan*. The paths that survivors and stories traveled continue to link together different Wabanaki families and communities across vast geographic distances and ground them all at Nanrantsouak. In this way, the peoples of Nanrantsouak, in the words of one descendant, "have never not been here," a claim I will revisit in Chapter 4.

Just as in the Corn Mother story, the violence that people experienced at Nanrantsouak became embedded in the landscape as well as in the minds of survivors. So long as this violence was remembered, it held the potential for new life. By sharing the memories as stories across the communities and down through the generations, the survivors of Nanrantsouak ensured that they would continue, eventually leading people back together. Thus, just as Wabanaki descendants enact this place, so too does this place create a sense of community, as people come together and share their stories. The stories are a signal of shared history, they have been a way that Wabanaki peoples with connections to Nanrantsouak come to recognize one another as having a shared past and common ground across geographic, tribal, and identity differences.

As people continue to share the stories, they breathe life into these memories. This life takes many forms. The many stories about the past bring people together to discuss and to ponder, to think together about what they might mean. The annual

memorial gathering has become a place where participants discuss the stories and consider together the possibilities about what may have happened and about why certain stories came to be told the way that they are. For example, while discussing the moment in LaPorte's story about the attack when the priest signaled the English to shoot the Indians, one woman asked, "But, I don't know why he would do that?" and prompted a deeper discussion of the historical possibilities embedded in the different stories. Stories of violence at Nanrantsouak bring people together and create spaces to discuss this complex history and the pain that has emanated from it; to consider what this violence and pain means for histories of Wabanaki-French and Wabanaki-English (not to mention Wabanaki-Wabanaki) relations; to consider together how these violent and traumatic histories have become embedded in the communities in ways that continue to affect them; and to work together to build strategies for addressing some of the lasting effects of these historical traumas.

The stories enact Nanrantsouak as a marker of shared experience of historical violence, both specific and general acts of violence against ancestors, reinforcing a collective sense of belonging through the generations that follow (see Cho 2008). When I first met elder Joan Dana from Motahkomikuk at the Wabanaki Spring social in 2013 she asked me where I was from. I responded Nanrantsouak, and she nodded her head knowingly, "My ancestors come from there," she said, patting my hand. I have had similar exchanges in different places when I have shared that I come from Nanrantsouak. This exchange often leads to a deeper conversation about how we are connected through our ancestors and through stories to this particular place, an exchange that is as much about building a shared understanding and relationship as it

is about sharing information about the past. While these stories encode a violent end moment of the deaths of so many community members, they also declare the continuation of the community.

Given that the history of Nanrantsouak has led to what Abenaki poet Cheryl Savageau has called a "diaspora within your own homeland" (personal comm, 2012), it is significant that this place can bring people back together. The memory of violence at Nanrantsouak has been a kind of catalyst for keeping the stories and the people alive. As people begin to gather at Nanrantsouak again, they not only renew old ties to place and to one another, but also begin creating something new. Remembering, then, has the potential, through stories, to connect people to the power of creation.

In the Introduction, I flipped Basso's famous question, "what do people make of places?" (1996) and asked, "what do places make of people?" As I have shown in this chapter, Nanrantsouak has made leaders and protectors, victims and survivors. It has made communities and diasporas. Now people are once again gathering together at Nanrantsouak. As Lisa Brooks and Joe Bruchac have pointed out, "In the Abenaki[99] language, […] the word for "tribe" is *Negewet kamigwezo,* or "those of one family." The word for "nation," however, is *Mizi Negewet kamigwezoi,* meaning "families gathered together"" (Brooks 2005: 229). This expression, Mizi Negewet kamigwezoi (Families Gathered Together), appears on written information about the gathering, followed by Nemikkwaldamnana Nanrantsouak (We Remember Norridgewock)

[99] "Abenaki" typically refers to Wabanaki peoples and languages west of the Penobscot River, past and present. It also refers to specific bands of Wabanaki people, such as the Mississquoi Abenaki of Vermont or the St. Francis Abenaki of Odanak, Quebec.

(Gedakina 2017). The gathering, then, can be understood as a form of nation-building that is creating anew a sense of community with a shared history and purpose.[100]

In short, Nanrantsouak has become a place that brings people together.

The gathering at Nanrantsouak is also contributing to a broader movement to reclaim history that has been gaining momentum in Wabanaki country.[101] This reclamation of history has led people to challenge the mainstream "erasure narratives," which suggest that the 1724 attack on Nanrantsouak destroyed the peoples of Nanrantsouak. The gathering has created a new narrative, decolonizing history by foregrounding Wabanaki perceptions of time, history, and story. This decolonizing shifts Nanrantsouak as a symbol of the "end moment" of Nanrantsouak peoples in the linear colonial narrative and relocates it in the center of the latest cycle or spiral of time which is now circling back around. In other words, the massacre has become a moment of disruption instead of an end-point in Wabanaki history. And this disruption is now being addressed as the community gathers together once again at Nanrantsouak, rebuilding the networks of relations and re-situating Nanrantsouak among them. The memory of violence will always be there, but it is not where the narrative ends. Nanrantsouak is being created anew as a place of gathering, just as it had been since time immemorial.

[100] Brooks, drawing on the work of Jace Weaver, has suggested the term "upbuilding" for understanding this process of nation-building that is a "gathering from within" (Brooks 2005: 229; Weaver 2005).
[101] This movement is gaining momentum in the northeast and many areas of Indian Country.

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"What are you journaling about?"

The question comes from across the cabin where my friend and mentor Judy, an elder of French-Abenaki descent from Winooski in Vermont, is sitting. It is August 2014 and we are at what has become a multi-day gathering for the annual Nanrantsouak memorial. It is evening and I have just sat down to write about the day. I tell her I am thinking about what it means to gather together in these places just as the ancestors did. I have been thinking about what it all means, people from far away coming together annually in this place for an event to remember those ancestors, while also sharing stories and building relations. It seems really not different from those old-time seasonal gatherings, when people would come together just a couple times a year, bringing food, news and new stories, and new teachings. During these times, they would rekindle their relations to one another and build relations with new allies. They would spend the days sharing, learning, teaching children, remembering old and building anew together. Those gatherings must have been like reunions or homecomings,[102] each one the same and yet also new. I tell her, these gatherings feel like what I imagine the old ones would have felt like, as if they were the same.

"They are," she says, *"they're exactly the same."*

[102] "The homecomings, she says, include broader kin networks and 'affective ties attached to a specific locale,' reminding people that there is a historical grounding for their relationships and that 'regardless of the degree of kin connectedness,' they are 'all one people'" (Blu 1996: 222-223 citing Jones 1980: 58).

CHAPTER2

NORRIDGEWOCK VILLAGE, INDIAN OLD POINT: A PLACE OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

I can picture the buzz and excitement of the crowd as they gathered along Main Street before noon on a warm late-summer day for the Father Rasle Days parade. Adults chattered with friends from across town or people they hadn't run into in a while as the children played around them, stopping now and again to peer down the street in anticipation. The smell of carnival food wafted on the breeze as venders strolled the sidewalk selling their wares and the atmosphere felt like the fourth of July. The drums of the marching band echoed through town as the children ran to the edge of the street, waving small toy American flags. They gazed in awe and excitement at the police cars and fire trucks. They waved enthusiastically to the people on the floats, and scrambled to gather the candies that were tossed out into the crowd and onto the street. Excitement grew as they awaited the most important float of the parade. A cheer arose when it was spotted, the Jesuit Father Rasle in his long black robe waved to the crowd from atop a large wilderness-themed float. Father Rasle spread his arms as if he were preaching to the others on the float, people dressed as Indians with black wigs in braids and paint on their faces standing outside their rough-looking houses. They, too, waved to the crowd as the children stood in awe of their presence.

Figure 4: Margaret Coffe Moore Chapter DAR monument 1926. Located at the side of the road between the Pines and St. Sebastian Catholic Cemetery. Madison, Maine. October 2007. Photo by the author.
Text reads: Site of Norridgewock Indian Village Destroyed by the English in 1724 Old Point monument beyond commemorates the death of Father Rasles and Indians in Massacre"

Introduction:

"There is so much history here!"

It is a sentiment that is commonly associated with the land where Norridgewock Village once stood. The idea that history happened *here* is critical; it grounds historical narratives from books to a locale that you can visit, making that distant past feel more real, more accessible, more tangible. "Indian Old Point," the site of the Norridgewock Mission Village, or at least its history, has long been considered significant because history happened *here*.

In the 1970s, the 250th anniversary of the attack on the village and the bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence both approached, historians, priests, state officials, and local citizens worked to officially memorialize this site and its past. In July 1972, historian and doctoral student Kenneth M. Morrison[103] nominated the site of Norridgewock Village for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). On the nomination form, under "name of the site," Morrison offered two possibilities separated into two different boxes on the form. First, the "common" name, for which Morrison wrote "Old Point & Sebastian Rale Monument" followed by the "and/or historic" name, "Norridgewock (Narantsouak) Indian Village Site."

[103] Kenneth Morrison (1946-2012) was from Skowhegan, Maine. He received his MA and PhD in history at the University of Maine at Orono. Both his MA thesis and his PhD dissertation focus on histories of Indian-Settler relations surrounding the Norridgewock mission village. As he himself put it, "I learned my historical craft by coming to grips with the issues Norridgewock raised" (1984: 1). He committed his career as a historian to understanding this history. After spending several years teaching in American Indian History at UCLA, took at tenured position in the religious studies department at Arizona State University, from which he retired in 2008. His historical work focused on histories of Indian-settler relations in Wabanaki country. He is perhaps best known for his ethnohistory on the complexities of Maine Indian-Settler relations and alliances in the 1600s and 1700s, *The Embattled Northeast* (1984). His second book, *The Solidarity of Kin* (2002) examines the relationship between Algonkian and French peoples during the colonial era from a religious studies and ethnohistory perspective. ("Kenneth M. Morrison (1946-2012)" 2012).

The multiplicity of naming on the NRHP form points to the complexity of defining this area and its history as nationally significant, and recognizes it as a place multiple. This land is known widely among locals and others as “Old Point” or “the Old Point.” Yet that name does not directly connect it to the Indian village or to Father Rasle, for whom the history of the site is known. What does make this place familiar to locals is Father Rasle himself, memorialized in the granite monument placed here in 1833. Thus, some locals refer to this site as “the Rasle monument,” but with that they do not refer to the entirety of the village area, only the tall granite monument by the tree line in the back of the Catholic cemetery. Yet, Rasle’s history is also only important because of the Wabanaki village that was here, a place known to the English (and to contemporary Americans) as Norridgewock.

How do you describe such a place multiple? The “Old Point” is a geographic area on the landscape, a peninsula that juts out into the river. The Rasle monument is located in a field near the riverbank on the north end of this point. The historic village itself, however, was significantly larger than this, spreading up and down both sides of the river. If you restrict its boundaries to the fortifications around the village center, noted in Joseph Heath’s survey in 1719, the town is contained by the old point. Yet this boundary would leave out the site of Rasle’s church, which stood outside the east gate, and therefore would also leave out the monument which was placed at this location. It also would also leave out the corn fields and village homes scattered up and down both sides of the riverbank, all of which were part of the village even if they were outside the fortifications. To complicate matters further, by the time Morrison submitted the NRHP paperwork in 1970, the village site had been split into different

properties with different owners. The Old Point, for example, is partly a cemetery owned by the Catholic Archdiocese, whereas the old cornfields on the Old Point are owned, and still operated as corn fields, by the Moore family, and the Pines is owned by the town of Madison.

Despite this complexity of place, the nomination form for the NRHP requires a description of the location of all nominations, demonstrating that places are often taken to be coterminous with locales. To meet this requirement, Morrison had to define the boundaries of this historic site by negotiating multiple senses of place in which it is embedded including property boundaries, historical descriptions, memorial and archaeological practices, and different uses of the land. Morrison's attempts to define the location of this place in order to enact it as a nationally significant site exemplify the challenges of defining the boundaries of lived-in place. They also point to the multiple ways people have related to this site as a nationally significant place. In his justification for the nomination, Morrison wrote that this place was nationally significant for three reasons: it was tied to significant events and people in national history; it had shaped American history and literature because American writers had written about it at length; and it was important to locals,' especially Catholics,' sense of history and belonging. It was also the focus of both amateur and professional archaeological practices in the name of the nation, as the site's later nomination as a National Historic Landmark would attest. These various processes and practices – that is, history, historical and literary production, archaeological studies, and local and Catholic community-making are different, occasionally even contradictory, and they

enact Norridgewock in slightly different ways. And yet, they all "hang together" as enactments of Norridgewock as a nationally significant place (Mol 2002).

In this chapter I examine the practices that have made Norridgewock a national historic site. I consider how the work of historians, archaeologists, locals, and various state agents and agencies, *enacts* the site of the Norridgewock Mission as a marker of the nation's presence - a sign that national history happened *here.* By highlighting how these different practices work together, I show how state agents, locals, and others negotiate and co-produce a sense of shared national history. By doing so, I demonstrate how nation-building is not only a top-down authoritative discourse wherein state agents and personnel have total control over historical narratives (Alonso 1994), but instead involves local practices and imaginations which shape and are shaped by official practices.

In Part I: Narrating Practices, I examine practices of imagining and narrating Norridgewock's past in the context of American nation-building. I show how this nation-building work is done with narratives that create new borders and boundaries, that locate Indians and their claim to the land firmly in the past, and that claim both the English and Indian past as American past. I unpack how historians' obsession with this place and its history while writing the history of the new nation after the American Revolutionary War laid the groundwork for it to become "nationally significant." I demonstrate how even local literary production contributes to both historical knowledge-production and practices of nation-building.

In Part II: Memorializing Practices, I explore how monuments, anniversary festivities, and Catholic memorial services enact Norridgewock as a marker not only

that history happened here, but also as a claim that local people and places have contributed to and possess something of the nation. I offer a case study of Catholic place-making at this site in the early 19th century to demonstrate how Catholics mobilized Norridgewock and its history to claim inclusion in the nation. I demonstrate how these practices, in turn, shaped how locals understood and enacted Norridgewock's national significance during the US bicentennial celebrations.

Finally, in Part III: Archaeological Practices, I examine how local collective memory of this site has informed the role that archaeology plays in this nation-building work. These practices enact Norridgewock as a place that holds evidence of the nationally significant past. I consider tensions that this enactment produces, as it enables both the desire to retrieve that evidence and possess something of local and national history as well as the desire to protect it as national patrimony. This tension complicates simple understandings of nation-building as a bottom-up or top-down process, and instead offers a space from which to observe how local public and state agencies are co-constitutive of one another and of the nation. Finally, I consider the implications of the claim that Americans inherited Indian and English colonial pasts.

One of the questions that I grapple with in this chapter is: how can a place and history that played out and before the United States existed as a nation be nationally significant? There is nothing inherently linking this place's history to US history or nationalism. Therefore, it is critical to consider the social and intellectual work that has gone into making this place nationally significant. Scholars of settler colonialism have demonstrated that nation-building in settler colonial contexts involves a process of erasing the indigenous past in order to replace it (Wolfe 1998, 2002, 2006; O'Brien

2010; Kauanui 2016). But some things cannot be erased and must instead be silenced and pushed to the margins or incorporated into the mainstream (Alonso 1994).

The history of Norridgewock Village was so famous that it could not easily be erased. Instead erasure and replacement had to work together in a particular way that would allow for this history to remain known and vibrant, but to tell a story about the end of the Norridgewocks. As O'Brien has noted, this is accomplished in part through practices of historical production that "attest to the simultaneous presence of Indian history in New England places even while they declare that Indians themselves were only to be found in the past" (O'Brien 2010: 57). In this chapter I demonstrate how both processes, erasure and incorporation, are involved in the practices by which people *enact* Norridgewock as a place of national significance. I argue that this simultaneous erasure and inclusion weaves the different enactments of Norridgewock as a nationally significant site together to produce an authoritative and pervasive singular narrative of the site as a place where Wabanaki history ended and made way for American history.

PART I. Narrating Practices

Vestiges of an Indian Town

In 1775, at the dawn of the American Revolution, Colonel Benedict Arnold led American soldiers on the now famous ill-fated march up an "old Indian trail" along the Kennebec River and through the Maine wilderness to attack English forces at Quebec City. When the troops came to what they refer to in their journals as Norridgewock Falls on October 3rd, Arnold wrote:

> "here is some small vestiges left of an Indian Town, (destroyed by the English abt 10 years since) the foundation of an Old Church and alter the monument over the fort St Francis. The founder of the Church & the whole tribe we are told are extinct except two or three-" (Roberts 1938: 47-48).

With this brief image, Arnold references the English destruction of Norridgewock village in 1724. Despite his error dating the attack, he is correct that the village had been occupied until about 10 years prior. The village had been resettled in the 1720s and even had a Jesuit missionary resident until at least the 1754 (A Journal of the Proceedings 1754; Bourque and Prins 1987). As late as August 1752, Norridgewock leaders appealed to the British governor in treaties that settlers were hunting "as far north as Norridgewock" and that this was upsetting their game (Treaty with the Eastern Indians 1752).

While stories of Norridgewock had circulated in Massachusetts Colony throughout the early 1700s, it is striking that Arnold and his men are familiar with this place 51 years later. This suggests that stories about this place, particularly the 1724 attack, had remained popular in New England. It is also curious that the land remains cleared enough for the troops to camp there and that the church foundation, altar, and the cross that Indian survivors placed over the Jesuit's grave just days after the destruction of the village are still visible. Could it be that Indians were still returning to this place in 1775? Taken in tandem with the fact that Arnold's men are accompanied by two Indian guides who know this country well, and that the men encounter other Indian peoples in this area, this "vestige" of an Indian town suggests ongoing Indian presence. [104]

[104] Emma Folsom Clark wrote in 1934 that: "The grave of Father Rasle was never forgotten – but was always kept green – so long as any of the tribe haunted the river." (Clark, n.d.: 12)

However, despite evidence of recent and ongoing Indian presence, Arnold's narrative of this place declares their absence. Arnold easily recalled aspects of the history of the village, but claimed that the Indians were nowhere to be seen. For Arnold and his men, these "vestiges" of an Indian town served not as a reminder of what once was, but as a marker of what was *no longer*. The traces of habitation that they attributed to the old mission village stood as evidence of an imagined end point of Norridgewock Indian presence here - the material remains of the destruction of the village and its people. As historian Jean O'Brien has pointed out, through such historical practices "Indian ruins are made to narrate Indian demise" (O'Brien 2010: 90) in order to make way for Europeans to replace them on the landscape.

By pointing out traces of past Indian presence here, Arnold enacted Norridgewock as a place with an Indian past but with no Indian present (or future). In so doing, Arnold constructed and reinforced conceptions of the land as emptied of indigenous belonging and claims, evidence of the land opening up for European, or in this case, American place- and history-making. Arnold's presence at and description of Norridgewock is a moment upon which later Americans gaze and mark as evidence of the sad, perhaps even tragic, disappearance of the Indians, but a disappearance that they suppose happened before the birth of the great American nation. This image of Indian absence would become a focal point as stories about Norridgewock Village became embedded in the cultural memory and folklore of New England.

According to this narrative, by the time of the American Revolutionary War, Norridgewock was but a memory, an uninhabited site where historical events had played out. Thus the history that makes the site significant pre-dates the US Nation.

How is it, then, that this site comes to be understood as nationally significant to the US? This is the work that early American historians and literary artists would take up following the Revolutionary War.

Early American Historians Write the Nation

Origin stories are vital to creating a sense of national belonging and cohesion (see Braudel 1982; Bloch 1953; de Certeau 1988 on "origin" in history; see also Anderson 2006 on the creation of national belonging). Once the United States of America completed its revolutionary separation from England in 1783, the fledgling nation desperately needed its own history. As Maine local historian J. W. Hanson put it in his *History of the Old Towns,* "we can never have a perfect National History until every State shall have contributed its own, and a perfect State History cannot be written until every town shall have furnished its own local facts" (Hanson 1849: 3-4). So began an increasing obsession with producing the history of the new nation by writing local town and state histories.

In 1784, just after the US separation from England became complete, Jeremy Belknap, founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society and a prominent member of the American Philosophical Society,[105] published his *History of New-Hampshire Volume I. Comprehending the Events of One Complete Century from the Discovery of the River Pascataqua* (Belknap 1784). This work, along with the two volumes that

[105] Belknap worked at the APS for years, writing the American colonial history *American Biography* published in 1794 and 1798 and used the pseudonym "American Plutarch" in some of his writing (Lawson 1998). He is also credited with founding "The Historical Society," which has since become the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791, devoted to "the study of American History" through creating a repository for American historical resources and a publisher. Because it was the only historical society or collection in America in its time, it "took on a broadly national role," and it was not until later that it turned its focus to mostly Massachsuetts and New England, but MHS is still known to have a national focus ("History of the MHS" 2017).

followed, has been considered a "milestone in American historiography (Kaplan 1964: 18; see also Lawson 1998 who refers to Belknap as "a pioneer of historical inquiry": 3). Alexis de Tocqueville described Belknap's *History of New-Hampshire* as "the best history produced by an American writer" in his own work *Democracy in America* (Lawson 1998: 3; see also de Tocqueville 2010: 674). These words do more than praise or acknowledge Belknap's work; they also construct "American" history as a nationalist genre of historical production and by extension they mark Belknap and his *History* as "American."

In 1795, James Sullivan[106] published *The History of the District of Maine,* which he dedicated to the Governor, Lt. Governor, Council, Senate, and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (Sullivan 1795). In the dedication, he presented his wish "to pay my acknowledgments to that government which gave [the Massachusetts Historical Society] birth. It being intended by that Institution, to collect, and preserve, those documents and materials, which *will aid in the completion of a perfect history of United America*" (iii; emphasis mine). There is probably no historian writing in the period just after the American Revolution who was more explicitly nationalist than James Sullivan. His own stated purpose was to create "a distinct History of an extensive and important part of our country" (iv). Not only was Maine "important" to "our country," but also according to Sullivan, Maine suffered many "confusions and misfortunes" because it was "under the dominion of different European sovereigns: detached from all the other colonies in America."

[106] Sullivan was born in southern Maine in 1744. A renowned lawyer, in his adult life he was active in Massachusetts politics and government during and following the American Revolutionary War years ("James Sullivan" 2017). Along with Belknap, Sullivan was one of the founding members of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791, and served as the society's first president from 1791-1806.

Therefore, its history demonstrated that "a constitutional union, of the present sovereign States of America, by one general government acting on the people of the whole, for national and federal purposes" was a "necessity" that "may clearly be seen" (iv). In short, Sullivan proclaimed that Maine's complicated history was indicative of the need for a new nation which would preclude any additional "confusions and misfortunes" by bringing Maine under "one general government."

Despite the confusion and misfortune that Sullivan claimed had been caused by multiple independent nations operating simultaneously in the territory of Maine, Sullivan suggested that the values of the American Nation, "the seeds of republicanism which have produced our glorious *revolution*, with a rich harvest of civil liberty, were planted by our ancestors, in the soil of America, at a very early date" (vi-vii). With this statement, Sullivan discursively stretched contemporary American nationalism backwards in time, asserting that the new American Nation was in some ways already ancient and planted in the very soil. This construction served as claim to an ancestral and multi-generational belonging, a sort of indigeneity, and reconstructed the realization of the American Nation as pre-ordained (see Deloria 1999; O'Brien 2006, 2010 for a discussion of this nativist claim in early America).

Sullivan even organized *The History of the District of Maine* in a way that stretched the new nation backward in time. His discussion of "The Discovery, and Taking Possession of the Country" in chapter three is placed before the "first adventurers" explore the lands in chapter four, and even before the presence of "the natives" who are described afterwards, in chapter five. Immediately following this description of the Indians, Sullivan devotes an entire chapter to establishing English

ownership of this land through land grants and another chapter to titles from the Natives, in this order, and includes copies of several of these deeds as the appendix.

Sullivan's work here is a perfect example of the process and historiographic practice of firsting, lasting, and replacing that Jean O'Brien (2010) has described in historiographical production in southern New England in the 19th century. Here we see Sullivan not-so-subtly placing the first (read European) adventurers before indigenous peoples. These adventurers explore lands that apparently were already in the possession of Europeans rather than owned and controlled by Wabanaki peoples. This sort of temporal reconfiguring is akin to what Alonso has referred to as "homogenizing the before and after of the content of the enclosure" of the nation-state (Alonso 1994). In other words, once the beginning moment of America is defined, it then becomes important to make that which came *before* this beginning moment fit in with that which comes after. Sullivan's *History* participates in this process of nation-building by suggesting that America, as an idea or set of values, predates the American Revolution, and that therefore America's nationalist claims are "ancient."

Because the new "American" lands were also the same lands England claimed to have discovered, explored, colonized, and conquered, American historians needed a way to claim ownership of England's past even as they claimed England's land. To this end, most early American historians, such as Belknap and Sullivan, claimed the English colonial past as American past. They did this in part by beginning their histories with stories about how America's English ancestors or English enemies had discovered a place, thereby reclaiming for the US both the place and its discovery from the English by right of inheritance or conquest.

Early American historians also relied heavily on colonial documents and on the written work of British colonial historians and government officials,[107] texts which present the history of the wars with the Indians from the English perspective and support English actions. Some of these sources, such as Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay* (1767), referenced French accounts of English hostilities, but dismissed them by claiming that they were exaggerated and anti-English. Early American historians drew on these texts while adjusting their focus to support new local, state, and national agendas. For instance, Belknap's *History of New Hampshire* is, upon closer inspection, really a history of Massachusetts colony and the relationship between the colony and the Eastern Indians in the territories of New Hampshire and Maine, to which Belknap added documents, people, and places of New Hampshire. For example, when describing the start of Dummer's war of 1722, he highlighted New Hampshire by explaining that NH joined the war because it was "seated in the bosom of Massachusetts" (53) exclaiming that many of the main Englishmen active in the war, including Commanders Westbrook and Penhallow, were from New Hampshire.

Belknap's history presents the transition from colony to state and from colonial to national history as if it had been fairly straightforward. Yet, a closer look demonstrates that carving American state histories from their British colonial pasts was a challenging endeavor because the colonies were all interconnected politically, socially, and culturally, and were all directly affected by the same historical events and

[107] Examples include Samuel Penhallow's manuscripts and book *The Indian Wars of New England* (Penhallow 1726) and Massachusetts Royal Lt. Governor Tomas Hutchinson's *History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from the Charter of King William and Queen Mary in 1691 to the year 1750*[107] (Hutchinson 1767).

relationships. This challenge is especially apparent in the *History of Maine* wherein Sullivan attempts to write place-based town histories. In order to accomplish this, Sullivan had to separate complicated social processes across a vast territory and connect these processes to specific settlements and towns. Much like Belknap's attempt to write a history of New Hampshire from the complex history of English-Indian relations in the broader New England region, Sullivan's attempt to break this multifaceted history down into individual town histories does not work well. His history jumps around chronologically, repeats stories of events, and splits up processes that are directly connected. This became so tedious that by the end of the book he broke with the approach entirely and wrote a history of the "wars [the towns] have been engaged in with the savages[108]" across the region.

While this history did not fit smoothly into attempts to break colonial history up by town or state, it was vital for early American historians to include the wars with the Wabanaki, or "Eastern Indians" as they were known collectively in New England, in their nationalist histories because these wars were part of the memory and folklore of most New Englanders. New Englanders had been familiar with the events of these wars as they occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries. The local newspapers in Boston had regularly printed updates about the conflicts, and local publishers mass-produced copies of the minutes from treaty conferences and the journeys of military excursions into the territory of Maine. Many English in Boston and in the settlements in Maine had feared the Eastern Indians. Some of these fears were based on experiences of raids

[108] Sullivan acknowledges that Belknap related much of this history in his *History of New Hampshire,* but justifies his own portrayal of this history by suggesting that Belknap's missed some details.

and captivity;[109] some were based on stories and rumors. Many English individuals or their relatives had lost homes, lands, and/or investments in Maine resources during the wars. And these fears and losses had been maintained in the memories and stories of the people who had become "Americans." Thus, in order to create and enforce a sense of shared experience and belonging, which is important for nation-building (Anderson 1983; Mannaheim 2011; Renan 2011), it was vital that the history of English-Indian relations, especially the wars, be woven into narratives of American history.

As I discussed in the beginning of the previous chapter, during the 17th and 18th centuries Wabanaki leaders worked hard to build mutually beneficial relationships with colonial leaders and settlers, while also fighting to protect their lands and peoples from English encroachments and abuses. Yet, for the most part colonial documents and early histories do not portray these acts of Wabanaki diplomacy and resistance. Instead they portray Wabanaki savagery, French deceit, and English heroism over both. English leadership was quick to dismiss their own culpability when relations with the Wabanaki went sour, despite the many warnings they had received (some from their own people). Instead, they declared that the French had incited the Eastern Indians to hostility against them. For this they blamed primarily the Jesuits who lived among the Eastern Indians and no Jesuit was more hated than Father Sebastian Rasle at Norridgewock. As Morrison puts it, Rasle would become the "bête noire of Puritan

[109] It is important to note that while some Wabanaki captives experienced violence, many captives were welcomed into families and communities and were reluctant or refused to return to the colonies.

Massachusetts.[110]" The English would put a price on his head and raid Norridgewock several times before finally destroying the village and killing Rasle and many others in August of 1724 (Morrison 1984). Therefore, because it represented a story of English victory, and because it was well-known and had been "much celebrated by tradition and history" (Sullivan 1794: 262), Norridgewock became a particularly important place for early American historians.

In their histories, both Belknap and Sullivan utilized the English documents that supported the position that the French and Indians were deceitful and full of violence[111] and portrayed the fall of Norridgewock as a symbol of English, and by extension American, victory. For instance, in his description of the war that the English declared against the Eastern Indians in 1722,[112] Belknap painstakingly

[110] It is important distinguish between the notoriety of the site during the 1600s and 1700s and its historical fame through historiography beginning in the 1800s. Of course, this is a somewhat tricky distinction to make, as the past is what informs the historiography, yet there are some discrepancies between the historical record and the histories written in the 1800s. It is also important to note that what becomes important to American historians in the 1800s is not necessarily the same as what is important to English colonial officials in the 1600s and 1700s.

[111] Throughout, while occasionally naming an individual person or tribe, Belknap also tends to refer to the Indians as a group, mass, or horde, and reinforces this perspective despite evidence of multiple opinions and disagreements among Wabanaki peoples. For instance, Belknap writes, "they seemed to prefer peace; and either pretended ignorance of what had been done, or promised to make inquiry into it" (50), taking what is most likely different responses by different people (those who had not been involved in any of the raids vs. those who were in a position to find out more about them) as indicators that the Indians as a whole were deceitful. Furthermore, he juxtaposes this moment with a meeting on Arrowsic Island between some of the Eastern Indians accompanied by Rasle, Castine, and others, with Captain Penhallow wherein the Indians left a letter for Governor Shute threatening to kill the Englishmen's cattle and burn their villages if they did not move off of the Indians' lands within three weeks. With this juxtaposition, Belknap, like his English sources, suggests that the Indians are inconsistent, but by including Rasle in this section, he also implies that while the Indians themselves are untrustworthy, Rasle may be the real cause of the trouble. This threat is his justification for Colonel Westbrook's march on Norridgewock the following winter, with orders, he claims, to capture Rasle. They find no one, but confiscate Rasle's letters from which "it clearly appeared, that he was deeply engaged in exciting the Indians to a rupture, and had promised to assist them" (52). With what follows, Belknap suggests that the Indians responded to Westbrook's march on Norridgewock disproportionately, attacking several villages and causing a great deal of terror, forcing the English to declare war on them in July 1722.

[112] Most of the history of Norridgewock, particularly the events in the few years leading up to the 1724 attack on the village, appears in Volume II, published in 1791.

detailed Indian attacks on English villages, giving lists of the people who the Indians killed and took captive. Although Belknap acknowledged that much of the disagreement that led to war was over questionable land titles and English encroachment into Wabanaki lands, he blamed the French for having "heightened and inflamed" this problem (1791: 49). Following the English sources and histories noted above, he further claimed that Rasle collaborated with the Governor of New France to manipulate the Norridgewock Indians and incite them against the English: "Rallè was regarded as the principal instigator of the Indians; and it was thought, that if he could be taken off they would be quiet" (50).

Indeed, in all of Belknap's writing, the English are not to blame for anything: "These and other insolencies of the enemy being daily perpetrated on the frontiers, caused the governments to resolve on an expedition to Norridgewog" (1791: 59). Here he paints Norridgewock as the stronghold at which Father Rasle schemed against the English and from which he sent his Indians out to raid English towns. In response, the English marched on Norridgewock multiple times. In sharp contrast with the description of the Indian raids on English settlements, villages, and forts, Belknap's description of the final English attack on Norridgewock in 1724 is only a brief one paragraph summary with no descriptive embellishments, except to refer to the Jesuit as "obnoxious" and to proclaim the attack a victory.

Furthermore, as they recounted the histories of Indian-English relations, especially wars, early American historians typically located these histories firmly in the past, enabling the land to appear emptied of Indian claims to the land long before Americans came to replace both Indian and English pasts (see O'Brien 2010; see also

Deloria 1999). For instance, both Sullivan and Belknap relied heavily on British colonial historian Thomas Hutchinson's account of the 1724 attack on Norridgewock, which ends: "The Norridgewock tribe never made any figure since this blow" (1767: 314). By focusing on this account, rather than the documentary record that shows decades of continued Norridgewock life and presence in the Kennebec River Valley and political negotiations with Massachusetts following the 1724 attack, early American historians were able to declare that Indian presence had ended long before the US became a separate nation, while simultaneously claiming the Indian past as part of American national history.

Interestingly, Belknap ended his discussion of Norridgewock without any claim about what happened to the tribe, the village, or the individual survivors. For him the critical point was the death of Rasle; if Rasle made Norridgewock a target, then Norridgewock's significance, in Belknap's view, ceased with Rasle's death.[113] This victory, he claimed, emboldened the men to go out in search of more Indians and collect more scalp bounties; but they found the other villages deserted. "The fate of Norridgwog had struck such a terror into [the Indians], that they did not think themselves safe at any of their former places of abode, and occupied them as resting places only, when they were scouting or hunting" (61). Here Belknap constructs the attack on Norridgewock to symbolize the end of other Wabanaki villages in the area. With this claim, he enacts Norridgewock as a conquered place that opened the way for

[113] He notes that the war ends with a treaty made between the English and Indians at Boston in December of 1725 and ratified in Falmouth the next spring, but he does not include any details about who is involved in the negotiations and very few details about the terms of the treaty.

English settlements that would become American, and therefore a critically important place for American history.

Similar to Belknap, Sullivan enacted Norridgewock a signifier of the end of Wabanaki resistance to the English.[114] He suggested that the survivors of the attack on Norridgewock were "so distressed, that they never appeared formidable again" (176-77). While he made little claim about where the tribe or the survivors may have gone, he stated that they did not return to Norridgewock because when the governor ordered Westbrook to send troops to Norridgewock later that fall to hunt down survivors they found no one (263-64).[115] He also argued that the attack on Norridgewock was particularly important because it was the "decisive" battle against the tribes' threat to English settlement in Maine[116] which "relieved the people from great apprehensions, and saved the frontiers from great calamities" (262). By claiming that the English had defeated the Maine Indians, or that the Maine Indians had otherwise abandoned their lands and villages, Sullivan, like Belknap, reinforced English claims to these lands. Furthermore, this narrative paints Norridgewock as a sort of "last stand" for the Indians of Maine, and a final victory for America's English ancestors. In this way, early American historians like Sullivan and Belknap enacted Norridgewock as a

[114] Although, he also claims that because of earlier wars by the early 1700s there were only a few Indian tribes left in Maine. Here he paints Americans' English ancestors as significantly more triumphant in their battles against the Indians than the documentary record supports.

[115] In a letter to Colonel Westbrook in mid-September 1724, Lt. Governor Dummer orders Westrbook to send troops back to Norridgewock and the surrounding region "in order to surprise the enemy." He suggests that "some of the Indians that escaped at Norridgewock" might return for their corn, offering an opportunity for English troops for "this affair" to be ended "as soon as possible." (Trask 1901: 75-76). Shortly thereafter, Dummer sent a letter to Captain Heath, ordering him to march on Norridgewock with his troops, to which Heath agrees in his reply (76-77)

[116] Sullivan suggests that in 1724 there are but a few Indians left fighting against the English, a claim that is quite unsupported by the documentary record. "These tribes were all the Savages which remained of the numerous bodies that once inhabited that territory. These held their villages as resting places for the Canada Indians, and were themselves the guides of the scouting parties who came from thence on our frontiers" (262).

symbol of Euro-American victory and thus claimed it and its history for the new nation

Norridgewock is not the focus of these early historical narratives, but by including history of Maine Indian-settler relations, these historians set the stage for writers in the late 18th and early 19th century to focus on Norridgewock in their writing. In particular, the idea of the last of the Norridgewocks would capture the imaginations of the next generation of American literary writers. For historians in the 19th century, competing portrayals of Rasle in the French and English documentary records would lead to a controversy over Rasle's culpability and over best practices and methods for producing evidence-based history. This controversy would become a focus of folklore and history for centuries following the conflict. As I will show, this focus on Rasle would also alter how the history of Norridgewock was told, overshadowing the decades of Norridgewock diplomacy before and after Rasle's death in 1724, and in most cases erasing any continuity of Norridgewock as a village, a polity, or a people in later historical narratives of the Kennebec River Valley.

Early American Literature Enacts the Nation

The decades following US independence from England saw a rise in the need to create American historical narratives and to produce and define the new nation through literature. Writers in this time period sought to imagine and describe what made America unique. They drew on European artistic and literary trends, both Victorian and Romantic, but portrayed aspects of American histories and experiences to produce literary works as sophisticated as, but distinct from, those in England. In

short, they worked to create American literature and culture. In addition to America's vast and varied landscapes, many early writers turned to Indian histories and experiences, real and imagined, as part of the story that could distinguish America from Europe (see Deloria 1998). New England was the center of this American literary production, and many early authors drew on local history and folklore to write epic poems, Greek-style tragedies, and novels grounded in local places, at once creating and giving character to American ideals, visions, and imaginations (see also Rifkin 2014). Given the fame and notoriety of Norridgewock that Sullivan writes had been "celebrated by tradition and history" (262), Norridgewock was ripe with possibility for this new American literature.

In the early 1830s, American fireside[117] poet John Greenleaf Whittier[118] wrote a collection of poetry and prose entitled *Legends of New England* (1998). In the final poem in this collection, *The Last Norridgewock,* Whittier presents a tragically romantic image of an elderly Indian woman, the daughter of "Chief Taconet" and the last of her kind, watching the sunset over the land as her life, and with it the history of her people, is coming to an end:

"The Indian watched the sunset – and her eye
Glistened one moment – then a tear fell down –
For she was dreaming of her fallen race –

[117] According to the Academy of American Poets, this group of poets, including Oliver Wendell Holmes and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "were the first group of American poets to rival British poets in popularity in either country." These poets in a sense created "American" poetry. Their poetry often depicted spectacular American landscapes, home life, and folklore alongside history and politics ("A Brief Guide to the Fireside Poets" 2004)

[118] Whittier was born in 1807 in Haverhill Massachusetts, he was a shoemaker, a schoolteacher, and a Quaker. He worked for both the American Anti-Slavery Society and for abolitionist newspapers. While he wrote poetry throughout his career, he did not become popular until after the civil war, particularly after his most famous work, Snow-Bound was published in 1866. Today he is included among other famous American writers such as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Mark Twain, who were contemporaries and friends of Whittier.

The mighty who had perished"[119]

For this poem, Whittier took inspiration from the historiographical work of the previous generation and participated in the literary and historical practice that historian Jean O'Brien has termed "lasting," that is, the common practice of declaring the end of Indian presence in literary and historical production the 19th century (O'Brien 2010). In Whittier's poem, the elderly Indian woman is remembering her ancestors who have died before her while she, too, is dying. By presenting her as not only the last Norridgewock, but also the last of her entire race, Whittier wrote the Norridgewock people – and by extension Indians - out of existence. Even "the ancient woods are vanishing" only to be replaced by the "pale men" who "gather there" (141). As O'Brien puts it, as the last moment of Indian presence is defined, it becomes possible for non-Indians to claim that land as their own (2010).

Not only are the Indians gone in the poem, but they have been gone such a long time that their bows and pipes are buried, their canoes are rotting, and even their footprints "from all the hills have gone." This description rhetorically pushes Indian people and history further backward into the past and justifies Anglo-American possession of imagined-to-be-emptied lands (2010; see also Wolfe 2006). Furthermore, the old Norridgewock woman criticizes the English, "the evil-hearted pale-face" who "made the free of soul a slave" for the death of her people, a sentiment which allows for the image of the Indian to stand in for American ideals of freedom and wildness, while blaming the English for their demise (the not-so-subtle subtext, of

[119] In the poem it is autumn, another end to a season and the symbolic shift from the life of summer to the death and slumber of winter. The old Indian woman sings a song about how her race are gone and while the earth will go on through the seasons, her people will never return. Here we see an American poet taking on the voice of an Indian woman in order to declare the end of the Indian people.

course, is that the Americans have won against English tyranny) (see Spence 1999). Thus, through literary practices such as Whittier's, nation-making and place-making work together to erase Indian presence on the landscape and justify American possession of the land and its history.

At the same time that Whittier was working on *Legends*, he was also working on *Mogg Megone,*[120] an epic poem about the history[121] of Indian-settler relations in the territory of Maine in the late 1600s and early 1700s. Contemporary historian J.W. Hanson declared that Mogg Megone was "emphatically the best historical poem in American Literature" (1849: 80) and claimed that everyone had read it (76). The poem tells a story about the days leading up to and including the attack on Norridgewock. It combines famous leaders from different historical time periods such as Mogg, a Wabanaki leader from the Saco area who was killed in the 1670s, who appears alongside Bomazeen, a leader from Norridgewock in the 1700s. By presenting leaders from different time periods as if they were contemporary, Whittier collapses multiple generations of Wabanaki leaders and their complex and ever-changing relationship with English colonial leaders and settlers into a short period of time and links them to the attack on Norridgewock.[122] Furthermore, Whittier slightly adjusts the narrative that Americans where the inheritors of the lands and histories of their British forefathers, especially their victories. Whittier denies that the attack on Norridgewock was a victory of which to be proud and instead portrays the Indian leaders as victims

[120] Whittier writes that he began working on the poem in 1830, but did not complete it until 1834.
[121] While Whittier suggests in the introduction that it is based on history but is mostly fictitious, many of the characters and events in the poem are real, although not historically accurate.
[122] This temporal readjustment may subtly serve to imply that, while the Indians won the earlier wars, their eventual conquest was inevitable.

of the treachery of English wildmen[123] and the English solders as "brave" and good men turned cruel by the evils of war.

Whittier's work on New England folklore was not widely circulated at the time of its writing in the 1830s and was not well known until after Whittier's civil war era writing became popular. In contrast, Nathaniel Deering's writing was public and locally popular throughout his career[124] (see Chaplin 1934). Much of Deering's writing was patriotic or focused on American landscapes, folklore, or historical events or persons, and his work was published in local newspapers. In about 1822, Deering moved from Portland to Canaan,[125] Maine where he lived and worked as a lawyer for roughly fourteen years. During this time, he wrote poetry and prose for the local papers, was a well-known socialite, and participated in local government. Both his home and his office overlooked the Kennebec River just downriver from Indian Old Point, the site of the old Norridgewock Village. He wrote his first play, *Carabasset, a tragedy in five acts*, while living there, no doubt inspired by the landscape of the Kennebec and the folklore about Rasle and Norridgewock that was still well-known locally. In fact, the popularity of *Carabasset,* may have been responsible for the

[123] The poem tells a story of an English man who was considered a rebel in the colony and had left civilization with his daughter to live in the wild. Whittier portrays them as unscrupulous and untrustworthy villains. Together they lure Mogg into their home by promising the daughter's hand in marriage and then get him drunk in order to steal his lands. They then kill him. Whittier depicts Indians as simultaneously noble and brave warriors who are also savage scalp-hunters. He is also a bit ambivalent about the English. He portrays the English attack on Norridgewock as cruel and violent, yet he describes the English soldiers as "Brave men!" and suggests that their cruelty was caused by the ugliness of warfare (which he denounces as destroyer of even good men). However, the English-turned-wild in the poem are the worst of all: the daughter dies a horrible death in the attack on Norridgewock for what she did to Mogg, despite her attempt to confess and repent. The poem ends when Castine and some of the Indian men from his community come to bury the dead at Norridgewock and find the village destroyed, the canoes already rotting, and the woman's lifeless and staring corpse against a tree.
[124] Despite this local popularity, Deering would never rise to the same level of renown in American literature as many of his contemporaries, including Whittier.
[125] present-day Skowhegan

renewed interest in "Indian Old Point" and Father Rasle that followed (Chaplin 1934 makes a good case for this interpretation).

According to Deering's biographer, Deering wrote *Carabasset* in response to a play-writing competition that Edwin Forrest, a "celebrated American actor" had published in 1828 for which the main character had to be "an original of this country" (Chaplin 1934: 79). As in Whittier's poem, Deering's Rallé and his Indian leader Carabasset are both tragic heroes whose deaths are the result of English treachery.[126] Deering did not win the contest, but the play was published in 1830 and performed in Portland a year later. It was well received and there were many positive reviews in local papers (Allen 1834; Chaplin 1934). One critic in 1831 wrote that once the play circulated more widely it would place "its author among the first of American dramatists" (Chaplin 1934: 85).

With *Carabasset,* Deering took a place that was already familiar to locals and brought it to a broader audience through the form of early "American" drama. In so doing, Deering ensured that Norridgewock as a place and as a story would become part of how some Americans imagined themselves to be connected to the land and history in Maine. Furthermore, by recognizing Deering as "among the first of American dramatists" with this play, critics ensured that Norridgewock, too, would become nationally significant alongside Deering himself.

[126] In the play, the fictitious Ravillac, a captive English boy living at Norridgewock takes revenge on Father Rallé, who he believes is to blame for the fact that the woman he loves will not return his affections. He convinces the English that Rallé is inciting the Indians to war, and he then kills the chief Carabasset's wife and child to trigger the war. This treachery results in the famous August attack on Norridgewock, wherein everyone in the village is killed except for Carabasset and two other chiefs. Carabasset then hunts down and takes revenge upon Ravillac.

Together, Whittier's poetry and Deering's play shifted how the history of Norridgewock was imagined and portrayed in the generations that followed. While Norridgewock had not been the sole focus of earlier historical accounts, such as those of Sullivan and Belknap, literary work such as Whittier's and Deering's engaged these historical narratives and reconstructed Norridgewock as a symbol of the entire history of Indian-English relations in the region. With their dramatic reimagining of Norridgewock history, both Whittier and Deering presented the Norridgewock Wabanaki as brave and proud, while offering a sort of negative-leaning ambivalence toward the English.[127] Furthermore, both Whittier's poetry and Deering's play are written in a way that leads the audience is to sympathize not with the English characters, but with Norridgewock Indians and the French Jesuit.

This is quite different from the English historical perspective Belknap portrayed that blamed Rasle almost exclusively for the war. In his fictional reimagining, and for the sake of dramatic effect, Deering's play implies that this blame was not only misplaced but manufactured by an Englishman. In this way, Deering and Whittier's literary works represent the English as a symbol of evil; the subtext, of course, is that the Americans vanquished this evil, but sadly not before the English destroyed the Indians of this land. These literary works, then, allow Americans to take credit for saving the land from the English while simultaneously lamenting the perceived loss of the Indian past and absolving themselves from any culpability in that history (see O'Brien 2010). Despite that it is a fictionalized version of the history, Deering's play influenced an entire generation of Rasle sympathizers, as a writer for

[127] In *Carabasset,* it is an English boy who creates all of the trouble for the Norridgewocks and leads to their destruction.

the Portland Sunday telegram in 1912 suggested, quoting some of Rasle's lines and claiming that "all the schoolboys of his generation were familiar with the passage" (Chaplin 1934: 84).

At the same time as these works of early American literature encouraged audiences to sympathize with the Indian characters, they also constructed and reinforced Indian erasure narratives. In *Mogg Megone,* Whittier enacts Norridgewock as a "lone village" that was already "down-trodden," struggling against their presumably inevitable defeat. In the end, there are no survivors of the attack on Norridgewock. The French leader of the Penobscot, Castine,[128] arrives with his warriors to witness the destruction that the English brought upon the village.[129] However, Whittier's *The Last Norridgewock* and Deering's *Carabasset* do include survivors. In Deering's *Carabasset,* three leaders, Saugus, Taconet, and Carabasset survive the attack on Norridgewock to tell the audience how their people died and declare that they no longer have a home. They then plan to take revenge on the "white men" who killed their people. Carabasset proclaims that once their vengeance is complete they will have nothing left to live for and declares that they will meet again in the land of the dead:

> "Where meet the brave! for there the red man rests,
> When he hath sung his death-song, and goes down
> To the dark valley. There we shall renew

[128] The Baron of St. Castine was a French nobleman and military officer who was stationed at a French fort at the mouth of the Penobscot Bay in 1670. He married the daughter of a Penobscot leader and became famous in New England as a leader of Indian warriors against Massachusetts during the early Indian wars. He died in 1707, nearly 20 years before the attack on Norridgewock (Salagnac 2017). Including Castine at Norridgewock is another instance of Whittier collapsing time and using Norridgewock to stand for different Indian wars. Castine also appears in other famous American literature, particularly Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "The Baron of St. Castine" (Longfellow 2017).
[129] In the poem, Castine finds canoes already rotting on the riverbank and the bones of the dead already white and glistening in the sun, as if the people had been dead a very long time.

> Our song of joy and triumph; there rejoin
> Our brothers, who have perish'd in the battle.
> Yes, there we'll meet again! for who would live,
> When all he lov'd were torn from his embrace:
> And he was deem'd so vile, that 'twas denied him
> Even to guard the sod, that wrapt their bones!

The leader Carabasset survives the attack on Norridgewock and seeks his revenge only to throw himself off a cliff at the end of the play, and the audience is left with the impression that the other survivors, Saugus and Taconet, will have done the same. "The Last Norridgewock" in Whittier's poem is an old woman who is mourning the loss of all of her people as she watches the sun setting in the West, the direction where the spirits of the dead rest. She herself is dying and as Whittier points out, there is no one left to mourn her.

Like the Wabanaki stories of Nanrantsouak in Chapter 1, these stories proclaim that some people survived the attack on Norridgewock. However, unlike in the Wabanaki stories, these survivors do not represent survivance stories. Instead, Whittier and Deering's survivors are part of the "last of the" trope in American literature that serves to construct and reinforce the belief that the Indians (and with them their claims to the land) are now long gone (see O'Brien 2010; see also Deloria 1999, 2004; Deloria 1969). The survivors in these stories serve as witnesses, not only to the violence that the English committed against their people, but also to the end of their people. In the end, the survivors themselves die, leaving their memory not in the minds of their descendants, but in the minds of Euro-Americans. In this way, these stories complete the process of lasting and replacing that Jean O'Brien has identified.

Local Historians Reimagine Norridgewock for the Nation

These literary works did more than merely entertain readers and audiences; they also inspired a whole new generation's interest in Norridgewock. Shortly following the publications and performances of *Carabasset* in 1831 some locals from the town of Norridgewock[130] including historian William Allen, collaborated with Bishop Fenwick of the archdiocese of Boston to erect a monument in honor of Father Rasle at the site of his church and burial at Old Point, Norridgewock (discussed at length below). In the same year, John Pickering edited and published Rasle's manuscript *Dictionary of the Abenaki Language* (Allen 1849; Chaplin 1934). Documents regarding and essays about Norridgewock, the Indian wars, and Rasle proliferated in the early collections of the Maine Historical Society around the same time. These early literary works and histories are also repeated at length in later works, often copied word-for-word.[131] By repeating the stories, historians and literary authors participated in a sort of ritual that claims a national historical tradition which they are simultaneously creating.

William Allen of Norridgewock and J. W. Hanson, of Skowhegan both included large sections on Indian history in their publications: *The History of*

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[130] The municipality of Norridgewock, while named after the Norridgewock mission village, is not the same as the mission village. It sits just downriver of the town of Madison, where the mission village was located. The town line between Madison and Norridgewock is adjacent to the edge of the Archdiocese's Old Point property. The cornfields on the Old Point, for instance, are within the Norridgewock town line.

[131] For example, once Rasle's letters are published, later historians and biographers copy them in their own work. John Sprague's (1906) *Sebastian Ralé: A Maine Tragedy of the Eighteenth Century* draws so heavily and so directly from E.C. Cummings's (1893) *Mission of Father Rasles as Depicted by Himself* for the Maine Historical Society and from Eugene Vetromile's (1866) *The Abnakis and Their History*, without citations, that had he been a scholar in today's world he would have been charged with plagiarism. Likewise Cummings's translation of Rasle's letters are themselves copied from Convers Francis's biography of Sebastian Rasle in the Spark's *Library of American Biography* (Sparks and Francis 1848), which Allen also copies also in *The History of Norridgewock* (1849).

Norridgewock (1849) and the *History of the Old Towns, Norridgewock and Canaan* (1849), respectively. In their extensive passages about Norridgewock and Father Rasle, both historians refer to *Carabasset* and quote *Mogg Megone* at length, without explicitly considering the historical accuracy of either. In fact, Hanson erroneously takes Whittier's fictionalized version of the Saco leader Mogg[132] Megone, to be Mogg, a leader from Norridgewock who was killed in the 1724 attack. By including these fictionalized literary works in their local histories, Allen and Hanson imply that Norridgewock's past is part of local heritage in part because it has contributed to the production of new (perhaps one might say "civilized," as Hanson writes) local culture. Thus, Indian history is used to lay non-Indian claims of belonging to this place, overwriting any claims of belonging to place that Indians may continue to make (see O'Brien 2010, P. Deloria 1999).

Yet, in order for this replacement narrative to be legitimized, it first had to be reiterated that this was no longer an Indian place. Most of the post-1830s local historical narratives that include Norridgewock follow Whittier and Deering to suggest that the tribe and/or people of Norridgewock disappear following the attack on the village in August of 1724. This end point is regularly asserted in 19th century histories with statements such as:

- "The Norridgewock tribe never lifted up its head after this blow. Though not extinct, that bloody day blotted it from the list of the red men's nations. Another sad chapter was added to the history of the white man's intercourse with his forest brother" (Francis 1845, Sprague 1906).

[132] The historical leader of the Saco or Androscoggin, Mogg, Mog, or Mugg, died at Black Point in 1677. He is occasionally confused in some of the early histories with the leader Mogg who died at Norridgewock.

- "Thus ended the proud Norridgewock tribe; for, although it was not entirely obliterated from the earth, it passed out on that lurid day from its place among the nations of the red men" (Sprague 1906: 46).
- "The Norridgewogs never recovered from the effects of this blow. They soon deserted their village, and emigrated north" (Hanson 1849: 75).
- "Their place and their tribe were alike destroyed – the few survivors mingled with the Penobscots and others – and the name of the Norridgewocks was blotted from the register of Indian tribes" (Allen 1849: 42).

These words appear in the early histories despite the fact that conferences between the Norridgewock leaders and the British continued for more than 25 years after these historians claimed the tribe had been destroyed.[133] So how/why is it that a century later historians ignored this evidence? These historians were well aware of these treaty conferences given that accounts of each conference were published and furthermore most of them were republished in the mid-19th century in collections of local historical societies, which all of these histories cite. This dual historical production created a separation between records of the past kept and reprinted by historical societies and the production of new knowledge about that past, transformed into interpreted historical narratives. Historians were able to omit aspects of the past that did not fit the narratives they set out to produce (everyone knew, after all, that the Norridgewocks were long gone), because records of this past had been kept and made accessible in contemporary collections of the historical societies, ensuring that this past would not be lost to posterity.

[133] In 1726, two years after the "name of the Norridgewocks was blotted from the register of Indian tribes," they were expected at another 1726 "peace conference" between the Eastern Indians and the Massachusetts Bay Colony government. Their presence was considered so important that, when they failed to attend, Governor Dummer rescheduled the conference for the following year rather than allow the Penobscot to speak for them as the Norridgewocks had agreed (*The Conference with the Eastern Indians* 1726). This clearly demonstrates that the destruction of Norridgewock village in 1724 was not the end of either the tribe or its political power in the eyes of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Whether or not as a direct result of the early histories or literary works, Rasle became a central figure in nearly every history of Maine or Maine Indians in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This focus on an individual Jesuit made it possible to erase claims that Wabanaki peoples of Norridgewock had to the Kennebec River Valley by ending the story of Norridgewock with the death of the Jesuit in 1724. This tactic made it much easier for historians to omit the treaty conferences and other interactions that Massachusetts colony continued to have with the people of Norridgewock.

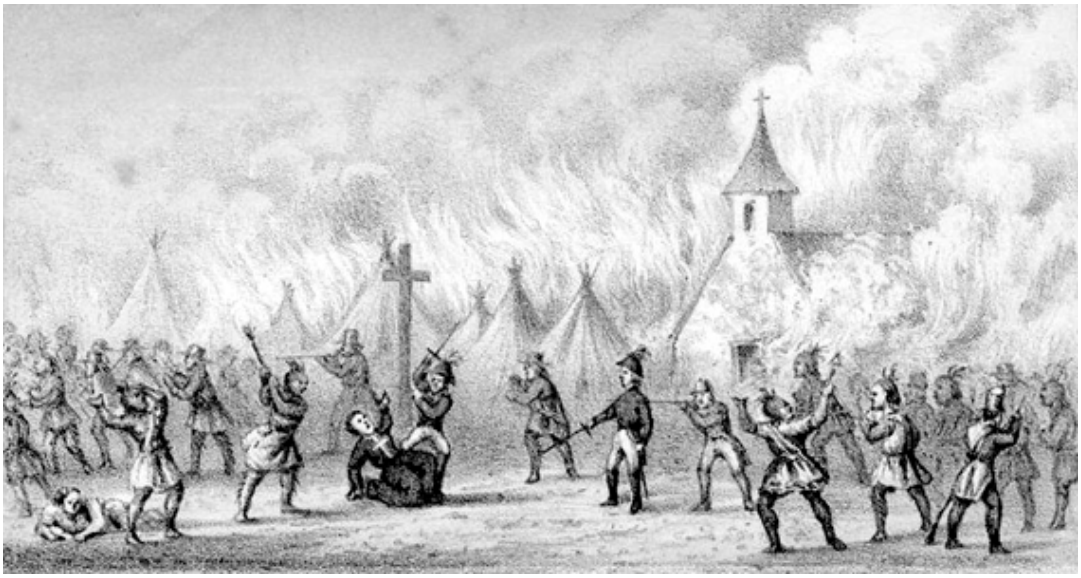

Figure 5: "Death of Father Sebastian Rale of the Society of Jesus, Killed by the English and Mohawks at Norridgewock, Aug 23, 1724" by T.W. Strong. Frontispiece to The Indian Good Book, by Eugene Vetromile, 1856.

Indeed the Jesuit became so important to the early production of history that there were debates about the spelling of his name, which appears variously in documents as Ralle, Rale, Ralé, Rasle, Rasles, Râle, Ralley, Rallée, etc.[134] Baxter (1894) stated that he spelled the Jesuit's name Ralé because this was how the Jesuit

[134] It is important to note that the spellings Rasle and Râle that both appear in Hanson's 1849 History of the Old Towns Norridgewock and Canaan are not altogether different, as official French orthography has changed historically: internal s's have been dropped and replaced by the accent over the preceding vowel. Therefore Râle would merely be a later orthographic rendition of Rasle.

wrote it, and that the spellings Ralle, Rallé, and Ralley that appear in English correspondence of the time suggest an Anglophone pronunciation of the French Ralé. Interestingly, Baxter claimed that the Jesuit's own signature was printed "Rale" without the accent, which he attributed to carelessness on either the part of the Jesuit himself or the transcriber of the original. Knowing the history of French orthography however, one might just as easily argue that the author left the accent off of the â as off of the é, and signed his own name Râle rather than Ralé. Despite Baxter's argument, Rasle or Râle is more common in the histories written in the mid to late 19th century than Rale or Ralé. It is also the most common in local memory of Old Point.[135]

In Joseph Sprague's 1906 *Sebastian Ralé: A Maine Tragedy of the Eighteenth Century,* Sprague parenthetically "corrects" each various spelling of the missionary's name in each quotation he uses from other sources in an attempt to enforce a standard spelling. Likewise, Baxter (1894) argues that his spelling is the most accurate because he went directly to the source and based his spelling on the Jesuit's own signature instead of on the work of other scholars. By debating the spelling of Rasle's name in these ways, each of these authors contributes to the production of historiographic methods as much as they produce knowledge about the past, all the while turning attention away from indigenous peoples to focus on the Jesuit.

[135] His name appears as Rasle/ Râle in Hanson's 1849 History of the Old Towns Norridgewock and Canaan, Kidderer's Introduction to his 1859 work The Abenaki Indians: Their Treaties, George Lowel Austin's History of Massachusetts, Abbott's 1857 History of Maine, Vetromile's 1859 The Abenaki Indians and Cummings's 1853 translation of Rasle's letters in the Collections of the Maine Historical Society.

Early historians debated methods for achieving accuracy in the historiographical process while simultaneously asserting moral claims about the historical events themselves. While some historians followed the official position of the British of Massachusetts Colony and argued that Rasle was instigating the conflicts with the Eastern Indians, others seem to follow the literary artists and argued that his death was a tragedy and blamed British misinterpretation or deliberate misinformation. This debate about Rasle's character and actions sparked disagreements among early historians not only over which portrayal of Rasle (the French angel or the English devil) was the most accurate but also over how to decide. While at first glance these appear to be opposite positions, in many ways they actually serve the same purpose: to validate claims to ownership of the land and the rights to the history of the land.

Histories arguing that Rasle was an agent of the French government and the ultimate enemy to the British crown validated British warfare against him and his followers. In *Pioneers of New France in New England* (1894), for example, James Phinney Baxter[136] argued that the French were ultimately responsible for the Indian violence against the English in the territory of Maine. In the preface, he explained that his purpose was to combat the popular romanticized stories about Rasle. He claimed that these stories were unjustly critical of the English, the "noble men of New England, whose blood was the cement which still holds our social structure together"

[136] Baxter was born in Maine in 1831. He served as mayor of Portland for six terms. He was president of the Maine Historical Society from 1890 until his death in 1921 and was devoted to history. Much of his work with the MHS was devoted to building a collection of documents relevant to the early history of Maine, which would become the Documentary History of Maine in 24 volumes. Most of these documents he, or his secretaries, copied from originals in archives in Massachusetts and London. (Maine Memory Network, Maine Historical Society)

(1894: 2). Baxter sought to vindicate the English from the view that they were "murderers and assassins," and reclaim them as American "forefathers" (1894: 6).

Throughout *Pioneers*, Baxter refers to the English as "our men" or "our soldiers." He presents evidence against Rasle and the French, while dismissing evidence that contradicts his position as "unsupported." By portraying the English as Americans' brave forefathers and the French as their unjust enemies, Baxter portrays the British conquest of Norridgewock to have been made through just warfare. He thus creates a space for Americans to declare ownership of the place and history of Norridgewock as their inheritance from the British.

In contrast, the arguments that declare Rasle's death unjust, or a "tragedy" (Sprague 1906), call the morality of British actions into question. In *History of the Old Towns*, for example, Hanson dismissed the English claim that Rasle was evil, and suggested that Rasle's choice to give up all of the comforts of "civilization" to minister to the Indians in the wilderness was evidence of his strength of character and selflessness. Sprague used this as a counter-example to criticize the English Protestants who went to war, who became overly strict and controlling, and who practiced religious intolerance to the point of violence.[137] In so doing, Sprague suggested that the English were unjust and reinforced Americans' right to history and place through just warfare, this time against the British instead of against the Indians. This version of the story of Rasle would become popular in Madison and the surrounding region.

[137] He points to the witch hunts as evidence of this intolerance and violence.

Through this production of history, literature, and knowledge more broadly, American writers worked to transform the Norridgewock Indian village of the past into a nationally significant place in the present (and future). They did this by their own interest in this past and in producing "American" histories and literature. Furthermore, the recognition that they garnered as "American" historians, poets, and dramatists rendered the places and histories about which they wrote nationally significant. In so doing, these writers also shaped how these histories are told and understood nationally. They claimed the pre-revolutionary English past as part of the post-revolution American history (either by inheritance or by conquest). They also declared indigenous histories, individuals, and landscapes to be part of American character and historical identity, even as they simultaneously declared Indians themselves to be a thing of the past. They did this in part by constructing the temporal and spatial boundaries of town, state, and nation, as well as of civilization more generally to exclude Indian peoples. They also did this by directing historical and literary focus to individual Europeans such as Father Sebastian Rasle.

These historical and literary works instill in peoples' minds that these places and their histories are significant to the nation. Once people begin to recognize a place as nationally significant, they often work to celebrate that significance and in so doing to connect themselves to those places. For instance, they construct monuments and recognize anniversaries and centennials as a way to proclaim their connection to this history and through that history to its national significance. Marginalized people also participate in these practices, proclaiming their patriotism and/or their contributions to the nation in order to assert their own belonging and loyalty to the nation. These

practices enact Norridgewock as a marker of the nation's presence in local places as well as an indication that locals belong and have contributed (and continue to contribute) to the nation.

PART II. Memorializing Practices

Catholics Claim Inclusion in the National Narrative

In 1833 Bishop Benedict Fenwick of the Archdiocese of Boston oversaw the erection of a monument to the Jesuit Priest Father Sebastian Rasle at Indian Old Point, purportedly at the very spot of the Jesuit's grave (Allen 1849; Francis 1849; Sprague 1906). While he had been involved in some of the planning, Fenwick had not decided to place a monument to the memory of Rasle on his own. Prominent members of communities in Somerset County including William Allen[138] and other historians such as John L. Sibley[139] of Massachusetts, both Anglo-Protestants, were also involved. According to Sibley, a rough stone and cross monument had marked the site of Rasle's church and grave for some years, but had been destroyed before 1830 by hunters "out of spite," perhaps because they were either anti-Catholic or anti-Rasle (see Sibley 1839; see also Fenwick 1836 in "Letters of Kavanaugh, Allen, and Fenwick" 1832-1836). Just after Deering's *Carabasset* was performed in Portland in 1831, and perhaps inspired by it, planning began on a new, grander monument: a tall granite obelisk topped with a cross.

[138] William Allen was a town clerk and justice of the peace for the town of Norridgewock. He was also interested in history. He wrote *The History of Norridgewock* (1849) discussed previously.
[139] Sibley was a reverend who accompanied Bishop Fenwick on his trip to Maine. He would also serve as assistant librarian to Taddeus M. Harris at Harvard University.

In 1832 Fenwick arranged for the Archdiocese to purchase an acre of land on the Old Point where Rasle's church, home, and burial had been. In their letters of correspondence in 1832 and 1833, planners Allen, Kavanaugh, and Fenwick discussed the monument. In a letter dated 1833, Kavanaugh suggested that it should look old to communicate a sense of "antiquity" ("Letters of Kavanaugh, Allen, and Fenwick" 1832-183). Fenwick agreed, writing "the more rough, the more Indian it will seem and an Indian monument it is intended to be"[140] ("Letters of Kavanaugh, Allen, and Fenwick" 1832-183). They also considered how to preserve the site without angering the neighbors who they feared may be opposed to Catholic presence in the area.

The dedication of the monument at Old Point on August 23rd, 1833 was quite an affair. John L. Sibley wrote in a letter to Taddeus M. Harris[141] that there were too many people for anyone to count:[142] "a Mr. Dearing [sic], who lives at Skowhegan, has written a Tragedy on the fall of Ralle which has been acted in the Theatre at Portland. He observed to me that I had brought together a larger collection of people than

Figure 6: Rasle monument and Altar. Madison, Maine. 2013. Photo by the author.

[140] They also originally planned for the inscription about Rasle to be included in four languages, Latin, English, French, and "Indian." The monument that was placed, however, only includes an inscription in Latin and it was not until a hundred years later that the English translation would be carved into another side. The French and Indian, unfortunately, would never be part of the monument.
[141] Harris was the librarian at Harvard University until his death, at which time Sibley replaced him.
[142] Hanson wrote that there were ten thousand people present, whereas Allen claimed that there were three thousand (Hanson 1849; Allen 1849).

was ever assembled before on any occasion in the County of Somerset" (Sibley 1839). Those in attendance were both Protestants and Catholics who came from all over New England and Eastern Canada, including Wabanaki people who were most likely members of congregations from the Catholic missions at Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and in Quebec.[143] Hanson wrote that "the services […] seemed to renew the past" and "will long be remembered" (1849: 86-87). The ceremony, however, did not go entirely smoothly. A group of locals, to whom Sibley referred as "country bumpkins," interrupted the service, climbing the trees and yelling, "Zaccheus come down!" They caused quite a ruckus until someone managed to shoo them away (Sibley 1839).

While it is not entirely certain what the "country bumpkins" intended, their interruption of the memorial can be read as a manifestation of the anti-Catholic sentiment that had long been part of New England[144] but was on the rise in the early 19th century. In their exclamation, "Zaccheus come down!" the "country bumpkins," most likely local Anglo-American Protestants given the demographics of the region at that time, invoked a story from the bible wherein Zaccheus, a greedy and corrupt tax collector, climbs a tree in an attempt to see Jesus. When Jesus sees him, he tells him to come down from the tree and meet with him, at which time Zaccheus repents his greedy ways. With their exclamation, the locals may have been presenting their criticism of the ritual and pomp in the Catholic ceremony, which they took to be

[143] some of the Wabanaki people present may have been descendants of survivors of the attack such as Louise Ketchum Hunt's family discussed in Chapter 1.

[144] This anti-Catholic sentiment has a long history both in Europe and in the colonies that would become the US. It also drove French-English relations throughout the Anglo-Abenaki wars, and influenced how English colonists in New England responded to Jesuits in the territory of Maine as well as to Wabanaki peoples who were also Catholic. It influenced some of the men to go to war against the French and against the Wabanaki, citing the need to drive the idolatry and heresy out of the lands. Finally, this anti-Catholic sentiment also colored some of the debates about Rasle in the historiography in the 19th century.

indicative of greed and heresy in the Catholic Church. These actions can also be read as resistance the claim that Norridgewock and/or Rasle were part of and contributed to the American nation.

In the early 1800s, tensions between Protestants and Catholics were on the rise as Anglo-Protestants reacted aversely to the growing influx of Catholic immigrants (mostly Irish and German) to New England.[145] Much of this tension was nativist; Anglo-Protestants viewed Catholics as foreigners and therefore not part of American nation-building. Many were concerned that Catholics could not be loyal to the US constitution because they owed their loyalty to the Pope and the Vatican (Gjerde 1998, 2012). Faced with this anti-Catholic strand of American nationalism, Catholics had to figure out how to express their loyalty to the US.

In Boston in the 1820s and 30s, Bishop Fenwick[146] used public outreach through newspapers and information pamphlets to demonstrate to the public how Catholics could, and did, contribute to the US nation. By collaborating with Allen, Sibley and others to build the Rasle monument in Maine, Fenwick was also proclaiming that Catholics had participated in the making of the nation from the

[145] Anti-Catholic sentiment was rampant in Boston and throughout New England in the 19th century, especially in manufacturing cities where Catholic immigrants found low-wage work in factories and mills. Madison, Maine would become one of these places in the late 1800s, as it became a leader in manufacturing with two woolen mills, a stick mill, and a large paper mill. With additional mills nearby, Madison became an excellent central place for French-Catholic families who moved from Quebec to factory towns in huge numbers the late 1800s for work. My own family moved to Madison during this time period, and settled in the French-Catholic neighborhood, known as "little Canada," on the south side of Main Street. In Madison, like many other towns with similar demographics, Main Street split the town between Anglo-Protestant and French/Irish Catholic communities. The remnants of this divide are still visible, the Catholic Church and cemetery are located on the south side of Main Street, and the Protestant denominations churches and cemeteries are located on the north side.

[146] Fenwick became bishop of the archdiocese in Boston in 1828 and is known for his work to combat this nativism and anti-Catholic sentiment in New England. Part of his work was to develop and spread information about Catholicism for the majority Protestant public of eastern Massachusetts. He started a Catholic newspaper, gave public lectures, and created information pamphlets.

beginning because Catholics such as Rasle contributed to civilizing the wilderness. Not only did Rasle supporters point to his efforts to bring Christianity to the Indians, they also cited his dedication to education and management of what is often considered to be the first school in the territory of Maine, and especially his dedication to language and his Abenaki language dictionary, often referred to as the first book written in Maine, as his most important contributions to local and national history. These claims to "firsts" are themselves an important part of ideas about civilization that often go hand-in-hand with nation-building in settler colonial states[147] (see O'Brien 2006, 2010).

By memorializing Rasle's contributions to American national history, Fenwick and other Catholics sought to stake a claim for Catholic belonging and inclusion in the local, state, and national history. As Joseph F. Mahoney, S.J. put it in a letter to the Director of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission in February of 1973, regarding the nomination of Old Point in the National Register of Historic Places: "I am a Jesuit priest and I am proud of my Religious Order's connections with the origins of this segment of God's kingdom and with its Indian peoples. Maybe we can redress some historical oversights and give due credit to forgotten and heroic pioneers"

[147] This claim would continue in the generations to follow. For instance, an article on the front page of the Madison Bulletin from August 28, 1941, entitled "National Shrine at Old Point" describes a Catholic mass and gathering at the Rasle monument the previous Sunday. According to the author, whose name does not appear on the clipping, during the mass Father Francis Sullivan, S.J. suggested that someday Old Point would be "recognized as a national shrine of the Catholic Church" because Father Druillettes and Father Rasle had "first taught the tenents [sic] of that faith on this part of the American continent" at Old Point (Bulletin 1941, Madison Historical Society clippings). While not entirely accurate because there were Catholic missions that predated Norridgewock, the sentiment that this history of missionization and civilization happened *here* and *first* enacts this site as nationally significant, and demonstrates how Catholics understand their relationship not only to one another but also to the American nation via this historical milestone (see also O'Brien 2010, Deloria 1998).

(Mahoney 1973, Papers at MHPC). In this context, Catholics claimed Rasle as their ancestor, thus stretching their own belonging in this land back in time to pre-date the American nation while also enabling and participating in its very creation. In this way, Catholic practices of memorializing Rasle enact Norridgewock as simultaneously a Catholic place and a symbol of Catholic contributions to American nation-building.

The fact that Catholics were able to use Rasle and Norridgewock as indicators of their own contributions to American nation-building was only possible because many already viewed this place and its history as nationally significant. Indeed, the dedication of the Rasle monument in 1833 was an act of place-making that was multiple. As a monument to local history, it enacted Norridgewock as a locally significant place because it indicated that nationally significant events happened *here.* As a memorial and mass to a Jesuit priest, it enacted Norridgewock as a Catholic place and an indicator that Catholics had contributed to nationally significant history, which happened *here.* This claim was met with both support and resistance. In the years following its dedication, unknown locals would vandalize the monument to Father Rasle on at least two occasions, possibly to demonstrate their displeasure with the presence of Catholic memory in general and/or with honoring Father Rasle in particular. Each time, locals such as William Allen and others who were sympathetic to Rasle (in part because of Deering's portrayal of him) were able to gather a collection to repair the monument. This multiplicity of place and significance has continued into the present through practices of gathering, memorializing, and nation-building that followed the 1833 ceremony.

Locals Declare Norridgewock's National Contributions

Over the years, Old Point became increasingly linked to American nation-building projects and people continued to point to Rasle's missionary work as evidence of this place's contributions to American national history. For example, in 1926, the Margaret Coffe Moore Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, a nationalist organization, placed a copper plaque with the D.A.R. seal on a stone boulder as a marker of the site.[148] In Dec 2000, the Maine State Organization National Society Daughters of the American Revolution placed a monument, also with the official D.A.R. seal, acknowledging Rasle for his contributions:

> "Father Rasle's School and Mission for Native Americans. On this Site, Prior to 1705, Stood the First Native American School in the Region now Known as the State of Maine. This School was Established by Father Sebastian Rasle A Missionary, Priest, and Teacher in the Kennebec River Area for Over Thirty Years. Father Rasle's Activities Included Preparation of an Abenaki Dictionary."

Colonial and Revolutionary War history would also increasingly be linked at the site of Old Point. As one Madison newspaper article put it in the front-page headline in 1940, "Fate of Nations Decided in Madison." The article continues:

> "National boundaries are changing at every tick of the clock. Control of territory is rapidly shifting from one nation to another. It is well to remember that this is nothing new. *It has been happening for centuries and right here*, within the confines of what is now the town of Madison, occurred two incidents which doubtless determined the fate of nations. Had the first of these not occurred it is likely that the whole area of the United States would now be part of Canada. Had the second event not happened it is quite possible that the whole of Canada would now be part of the United States" (Madison Bulletin, July 18 1940, among the collections of newspaper clippings at the Madison Historical Society, Madison, ME. Emphasis mine.).

[148] The plaque shows an image of an Indian with a canoe paddle, standing next to a tree on the bank of a river. The caption reads: "Site of Norridgewock Indian Village, Destroyed by the English in 1724. Old Point Monument Beyond Commemorates the Death of Father Rasles and Indians in Massacre."

The article refers first to the 1724 attack on Norridgewock and second to Arnold's failed attempt to conquer the English at Quebec. Here the author suggests that early colonial history as represented in the 1724 attack on Norridgewock and Arnold's March to Quebec during the American Revolutionary War were both defining moments for America as a nation in part because they contributed to the creation of the boundary between Canada and the US. This argument claims that the nation was in the making even long before it was created.

The sentiment that history happened here is critical for memorializing practices that participate in nation-building such as anniversary and centennial celebrations. In the 1970s, communities all over the US began planning for the American bicentennial celebrations that would be concentrated in the year 1976, but would take place throughout the 1970s. In so doing, many local communities turned to history and folklore to determine what historical stories or places they each had that marked their own contribution to National history, identity, or character. In Madison, people turned to Norridgewock village. The 1970s offered a unique opportunity for locals to observe two significant anniversaries within just a couple years of each other: the 250th anniversary of the 1724 attack on Norridgewock in 1974 and the American Bicentennial in 1976. As people prepared to observe these anniversaries, they contributed to Norridgewock place-making that solidified the connection between the colonial history of Norridgewock and American national history as they understood it.

The context of the intersection of these two anniversaries is part of what inspired historian Kenneth Morrison to nominate the Old Point/Norridgewock Village

for the National Register of Historic Places in 1972. As Assistant Director of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission Christi Mitchell put it, people nominate places for the register "depend[ing] on what's happening in the country," things like economics, federal tax incentives, or anniversaries. In the case of Norridgewock, it was probably a combination of Morrison's own personal connection to the site,[149] his work as a historian of Indian-settler relations in Maine, and the context of the 250th anniversary and the bicentennial that led him to nominate it for the register.

In the statement on the nomination form explaining the significance of the site, Morrison wrote: "The Norridgewock village site is important for three reasons. First it was the focus for French-English rivalry over the northern colonial frontier. Second, this Abnaki village exerted the greatest resistance against the encroachments of English settlers. Third, it was the most important Indian mission in Acadia." In the brief synopsis that follows, Morrison weaves together the site's significance to local, regional, and international history as he sees it. This history spans about 75 years and at least four different Anglo-Abenaki wars. Morrison argues that the Old Mission Village site can and should represent the long history of Indian-settler relations in the territory of Maine, which includes other villages, people, events, and places throughout the region. For him, it is not only that the 1724 attack happened here, or that Father Rasle was here that makes Norridgewock nationally significant. Instead, he renders Rasle and the 1724 attack symbols of a much bigger history grounded at this location. In this way, Morrison, following earlier historians, enacts Norridgewock as a symbol of the history of Indian-settler relations in the region writ large.

[149] Morrison writes in the preface of *The Embattled Northeast* (1986) that he and his family spent time at the cemetery at Old Point when he was a child.

1974 Anniversary Celebrations of Rasle

In 1974, Madison threw a grand celebration of Father Rasle and Norridgewock Indian history to mark the 250th anniversary of the attack on the village. According to long-time residents Gary and Joan Allain,[150] this event was also directly connected to the celebrations that took place all over the nation in the years leading up to the 1976 American bicentennial. As part of this occasion, the Norridgewock Indian Historic Site also celebrated its grand opening just across the street from where the Rasle monument stands on Old Point. The Historic Site was made up of a life-sized imagined replica of the fortified mission village and a small museum. It was intended that it would host events such as this anniversary memorial celebration, serve as a place to interpret the history of the site for visitors, and house and display Indian artifacts that Madison locals had collected from Old Point over the years.[151] In addition to artifacts, such as arrowheads and other tools and relics, the museum also held an encased replica of an Indian village, wax figurines of the famous characters Rasle and Bomazeen, and other replicas and artistic depictions of Norridgewock people and history. There were also two large murals: one of Father Rasle and the Indians and another of Benedict Arnold stopping at the site of the old village. At the time of the grand opening events and 250th anniversary, the 5 proposed five-year project to build a major museum, archive, and interpretive site was in its first year. The Historic Site, however, was vandalized and partially burned shortly after it was

[150] While neither of them was born in Madison, they are long-time residents. Joan, who was raised in the neighboring town of Starks, went to most of grade school in Madison. Gary was raised Catholic, and Joan converted upon their marriage. Both are very active in the local Catholic church; Gary is a member of the Knights of Columbus. Joan has worked in the school district for years, and I have known her for most of my life.

[151] For an in-depth discussion of practices of collecting Indian artifacts in Madison, see Chapter 3.

built, and without the money to rebuild or the income to support it, the museum closed without ever getting off the ground.

Figure 7: Replica of Old Point Mission Village. Collections of the Madison Historical Society. Madison, ME. 2012. Photo by the author.

According to Madison locals Gary Allain (2013) and Peter Sirois (2013), the museum and the celebration were the brain-child of one Mr. Arthur Grenier, himself a descendant of French-Catholic immigrants to the area, who designed and ran the museum for the short time that it was in operation. His project was supported by a number of organizations around the state, including the Arnold Expedition Historical Society, who invited Grenier to their meeting in February of that year. The meeting was part of a series of organized events that the society had planned for the period

leading up to and including the bicentennial celebrations in 1976.[152] Grenier presented on his Norridgewock historical center alongside presentations focused on Arnold and the American Revolutionary War including a flag exhibit representing the states from which Arnold's men had come, a presentation on Revolutionary War weaponry, a display of a famous local artist's paintings on Arnold's March to Quebec, and a historical skit ("Arnold Expedition Historical Society Newsletter No. 21" 1974).

The weekend-long schedule of events for the 1974 celebration received a full-page spread in the local newspaper, the Morning Sentinel, on Friday, August 23, 1974 with the headline: "Weekend Events Mark Abnaki Massacre: Abnaki Village Reopens Portals After 250 Years." The newspaper article promised that the weekend would make "the events of 1724 come alive again." The museum displayed Rasle's "strong box,"[153] which Moulton's men had taken from Norridgewock during the raid in 1723, and the chapel bell, found by a local in the 1800s. Harvard Library also loaned the original copy of Father Rasle's Abenaki dictionary, the book that "Maine's first author" had written *right here,* to be put on display. The weekend events included live bands, a Corn Festival complete with "Indian recipes" and the crowning of Corn King

[152] "Arthur Grenier, organizer and promoter of the Fr. Rasles Missionary restoration project and museum at Old Point, Norridgewock Indian site, will display his ingenious project model. This is a very ambitious project and deserves the endorsement of our Society" ("Arnold Expedition Historical Society Newsletter No. 21" 1974). The AEHS is a non-profit historical society that was created in 1973 for the bicentennial celebrations of the expedition in 1775. Like any historical society, they work to document and preserve historical information and artifacts, in this case related to the expedition. According to their website, they "carried out the only large-scale reenactment of the 'March to Quebec' ever undertaken." They include a reenactment staff and have been involved in the creation and maintenance of the Arnold Trail a wilderness trail system following the routes that some of Arnold's men took through Maine on their way to Quebec. ("Arnold Expedition Historical Society," n.d.)

[153] The strong box is in the collections of the Maine Historical Society. Director of Library Services, Jamie Rice, noted that this is one of their most popular objects and is almost always on loan (2017, personal comm).

and Queen, a 1724 Norridgewock Essay contest, an "Indian Pageant" and canoe show, and presentations from the militia group of the Arnold Expedition Historical Society.

While not a Catholic festival, per se, the weekend festivities made clear that Catholics were central to this place and history. In the parade, one float depicted a wilderness scene with Father Rasle[154] preaching to a group of "Indians" (Sirois interview 2013, also discussed in Allains interview 2013). A memorial mass at Father Rasle's grave and monument, complete with a procession of the Knights of Columbus[155] concluded the festivities. At the mass, Madison local and active Catholic Shirley Richard offered a history of Father Rasle and his accomplishments, which she would repeat annually thereafter until her death. The congregation also recited a prayer for the beatification of Rasle which had been written for the occasion.[156]

This gathering at the Rasle monument was part of an ongoing tradition among both Catholics and non-Catholics in Madison that began with the erection of the monument in 1833 and has at least periodically to the present. On August 23, 1933, Madison locals gathered at the monument at Indian Old Point to recognize the 100th anniversary of the monument and the "209th anniversary of the Indian massacre" (Clark n.d.: 5). For this occasion, local librarian Emma Folsom Clark put together a historical account of the area's Indian past, beginning with French and English encounters with Maine Indians and ending it with the lasting memory of Father

[154] Peter Sirois told me that his father, and in later years he himself, played Rasle on the float.
[155] The Knights of Columbus is a Catholic fraternal organization begun in the US in the 1880s and named for the purported discoverer of America, Christopher Columbus.
[156] This prayer continues to be recited by the congregation in Madison and in the surrounding area.

Rasle.[157] A newspaper clipping from 1907 reports that as part of the dedication of a new Catholic church[158] in Madison, the Rasle monument would be restored and there would be "a solemn mass" at the site of Rasle's burial (Scrapbook of Newspaper Clippings, n.d. Madison Historical Society).

The festivities of 1974 expanded on these previous gatherings and served to interconnect the slightly different enactments of Norridgewock as a national place. Through the displays of objects and replicas, the reenactments and representations, the public historical interpretations, and the mass and memorial services, these festivities brought together the Indian and colonial past, American revolutionary history, and Catholic memorial practices all in the context of celebrating local representations of American national history. They also demonstrated that locals had something of that national history and that they were able to contribute to it. The festivities, especially the Norridgewock Historical Site village and museum enacted Norridgewock as a place that held nationally significant knowledge about the past, a place where people could visit to access that past. These are not the only practices that enact Norridgewock as a place that could hold knowledge of the past.

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[157] Despite the large population of French Catholics in Madison at this time, Clark does not include them in her essays on the "History of the Town of Madison," written largely in the 1920s and 30s. To me this serves as evidence of Anglo-Protestant discrimination against French Catholics in the early 1900s, and their assumptions that French Catholics were not contributing members of the community (Clark, nd; for more on discrimination against French Catholics in New England in this time period, see Gallagher 1999; Levine 2002).

[158] This new church was named St. Sebastian and St. Sebastian became the patron saint of the Madison Catholics. While Father Rasle has not himself been granted sainthood (at least not yet), the choice of Saint Sebastian as the local patron saint and name of the church was in honor of Father Sebastian Rasle. Naming children after saints is a common tradition in Catholic families, thus St. Sebastian was likely Rasle's own namesake. Furthermore, St. Sebastian is an early martyr who was killed for his faith. Madison-area Catholics also hold Rasle in high esteem as a martyr who, they claim, the English killed in large part because of his Catholic faith.

PART III. Archaeological Practices

Relics of a Vanished Race: Discovering the Past

Among the scattered papers in a folder marked Old Point, Norridgewock at the Office of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission is a photocopy of a short narrative published in August of 1888 in the Maine Lincoln County News entitled, "NORRIDGEWOCK Relics of the Massacre of 1724."[159] The column begins: "While on a voyage of discovery for antiquities last week in the upper Kennebec, it fell in my way to visit Old Point the scene of the Norridgewock massacre in 1724. A humble granite monument eighteen feet high, surmounted by a cross, marks the spot of the burnt church, and where the pious pastor Ralle fell." With these references to historical events, the author implies that he expects his readers will be familiar with the story, suggesting that this story is part of local historical memory. His references also imply that, although indigenous peoples have lived in this area for thousands of years, the story of the English attack on the village in 1724 stands as an iconic moment in local history and folklore. He describes how, "while making some excavations in the vicinity," he is able to "observe" "evidence" of this folklore. For example, burn marks on many of the items he finds serve as evidence of the "burnt church" from the stories about the attack. This man's search for antiquities legitimizes historical memory through the science of finding and observing evidence. At this place and in this moment, a historical story is made tangible in the earth.

He describes his search for evidence as a "voyage of discovery," grounding his process of learning in a cultural paradigm in which the production of knowledge is

[159] There is no author named on this copy. It is unclear from the photocopied clipping of this newspaper column whether the author's name was present on the original or whether the story was anonymous.

framed as "discovery." This paradigm finds its ground in the history of the doctrine of discovery which constructs discovery as an act that endows the discoverer with both a legal right and a moral obligation to possess that which is discovered.[160] This is a condition of possibility for the development of settler colonial nation-states (Wolfe 2006, 1998; see also Wolfe 2016). In this case, it implies a right to ownership of these objects and, by extension, ownership of the past, by "right of discovery." Yet, a closer look at the story demonstrates that this epistemology is the product of negotiations with multiple possibilities for knowing and relating to the world.

As he continues this voyage of discovery, he finds bones "buried at a considerable depth," alongside what appear to be grave goods.[161] He stops, breaking his self-construction as an objective knowledge-seeker in the writing, and reflects upon this moment:

> I was alone with my spade, a veritable grave robber! The thought was appalling! I had a good right though, for Mr. Lane told me to take my spade and dig wherever I liked. And besides the body snatching profession was always more applicable to medical students and not to the alumni. Again, the above obnoxious vocation changes its title to that of "relic seeking" after the centennial of interment.

We see here the author wrestling with what might be understood to be a moral disjuncture between the search for knowledge and the "appalling" realization that he

[160] A legal concept used to justify the taking of non-Christian lands for Christian empires, and the guiding principle behind the voyages of "discovery" undertaken by European explorers claimed lands in "the new world" by "right" of discovery. Discovery continues as the underlying concept for later manifestations of the same idea, such as the puritans' divine providence in the 1620s and the Americans' manifest destiny in 1840s, and would be cited Johnson v. McIntosh, one of the founding cases of US Federal Indian Law known as the Marshall Trilogy, as the legal doctrine that granted Europeans and later Americans the legal and moral right to possess Indian lands (Calloway 2015; Wilkins and Lomawaima 2001).

[161] "a fish spear, a portion of a knife blade, a bullet and a beaver's incisor tooth; also what appears to be a fragment of a thick glass bowl or goblet, together with bits of pottery and numerous broken pipe bowls and stems."

was unearthing a human burial and could be considered “a veritable grave robber!” And yet, he negotiates through this moral dilemma, creating a distinction between immoral practices of grave robbing and the knowledge-producing practice of digging human remains. This shift reveals much about the value system that he is mobilizing and refining in this moment.

First, he claims that he has a “good right” to be digging here because a man who owns land nearby gave him permission. He reframes the question about the morality of digging up human remains to a question about legality through the construction of his “right” to dig. This is a legality which is based on a system of ownership and property rights (see Locke 1947; Hallowell 1955; Nadasdy 2002) which implies that the graves and that which they contain also belong to local landowners by extension of their ownership of the land.

Second, he declares that the “obnoxious vocation” of grave robbing is transformed to “relic seeking” after a hundred years has passed since burial. With this statement, he argues that, while grave robbing is indeed an appalling and immoral act, the passage of time can transform a grave from a sacred space into a container of relics just waiting to be discovered. If graves are sacred when they are still being used and the living still have an active connection to the dead (see Warner 2011), then by reconstructing these graves to be relic-holders, he also implies that no living people, Wabanaki or otherwise, continue to have an active relationship to the dead here. In this way, the author reconstructs the graves as traces of something that no longer is, “vestiges of an Indian past” disconnected from any possibility of an Indian present, a construction which fixes Wabanaki peoples firmly in the distant past.

Archaeology, much like history, has always been linked to nationalism, particularly given the concurrent development of the discipline alongside the formation of the nation-state in the 19th century: "Historically, archaeologists have helped underwrite many nationalist programs, according historical significance to visible material remains within a national territory" (Kohl 1998: 225; see also Anderson 1991: 163-85 as cited in Kohl). With the increasing reliance on "science" as the ultimate approach to knowledge in the western nation-state in the 19th century, "archaeology became a legitimate scientific pursuit and an academic discipline" (Kohl 1998: 227), that was crucial given its ability to transform history into science for the benefit of the nation-state. This is the ideology upon which the author who searched for relics near the Rasle monument in 1888 was operating.

As nation-states sought to construct and solidify claims to their ancestral pasts, the ability to dig into the dirt in order to find the "roots" of the contemporary nation-state in the very lands where the ethno-polity is located was of vital importance to the state and the formation of a national identity (see Kohl 1998). As I demonstrated in Part I, this production of a sense of "rootedness" is also central to how early nationalist historians wrote American history following the Revolutionary War. Early relic-seekers were essential to this practice as they imagined these relics to link them simultaneously to one another and to historical narratives, while also pinning those historical narratives to the ground *here,* where the relics were found.

The practice of digging in the earth to uncover artifacts would become a long-running tradition near Norridgewock (and around the country). Indeed, Norridgewock became archaeologically significant in part because locals have long been interested in

what the ground might hold and have dug there in search of evidence or souvenirs (see Calvert 1991; Clark n.d.; Spiess interview 2014; see also Chapter 3). Local practices of digging for "relics of an Indian past" also worked in tandem with a sense of historic memory to build a sense of local community grounded in the particulars of place at Norridgewock Village, as I will demonstrate in the following chapter. Yet, while practices of and stories about digging for relics are part of how Madison locals understand themselves to be connected to one another, they are also part of how locals see themselves to be connected to the nation. Some built collections of these artifacts which they subsequently donated to historical societies and museums. For example, the Maine State Museum has an extensive collection of artifacts from Norridgewock that were all donated by Madison-area locals. Many of these are on display as part of the museum's "12,000 years" exhibit. As noted previously, locals also donated most of the artifacts that made up the collection that was on display at the Norridgewock Indian Historic Site during the 1974 anniversary festivities. In this way, locals not only saw themselves as owning pieces of national history, but also as contributing to state and national knowledge about that history.

Regardless of how locals understand and story local practices of relic seeking and collecting as searching for "evidence" of history or creating community through shared experiences, professional archaeologists and state agencies such as the Maine Historic Preservation Commission (MHPC) denounce these practices as "looting." The production of nationally significant archaeological knowledge has been taken out of the hands of local communities and is now controlled by the state.

Archaeologists Protect the Nation's Heritage

When I met with the senior archaeologist at MHPC, Dr. Arthur Spiess, he stated that the site of Norridgewock Village has "been heavily looted over the years," and pointed to the 1888 newspaper column as evidence of this looting. This history of looting carries some important implications for understanding the relationship between state control and public access to knowledge for nationally significant historic sites such as Norridgewock. In particular, it demonstrates how access and control are part of how state agencies enact a place such as Norridgewock as nationally significant in ways that are distinct from how locals do.

Much of the land at Old Point is posted with signs prohibiting any disturbance of the ground under the authority of the MHPC. In the NRHP nomination form, Kenneth Morrison claimed that the Old Point Mission site had been so heavily looted that it was unlikely to be of archaeological significance. Senior Archaeologist for the MHPC, Dr. Arthur Spiess elaborated:

> "The Father Rasle monument mission site was looted heavily in the 30s, 40s, and 50s. […] Have you been to the state museum's 12,000 years of Maine's exhibit? At the end of it there's Father Rasle's bell from the mission and altar furniture, some of the metal pieces from the altar, all dug up by looters […] and they ended up in the town library, the Madison historical society collection, and then the museum took them from there and put them up on exhibit. So that whole business of popular knowledge of the site and looting in the WWII era is worth following up on. The question is where do you get into that information?"

Here, Spiess points out that, while looters have contributed to some extent to state knowledge by donating their objects to the museum, looting practices actually obscure more than they reveal. As the Assistant Director Christi Mitchell put it, "looters didn't really keep very good records." Because of this, the National Register

(NRHP) and National Historic Landmarks (NHL) programs not only produce knowledge but are also dedicated to protecting sites and their potential to produce knowledge. This means that while these sites and their histories are "public," state agencies such as the MHPC also control access to some knowledge about these sites for the purpose of preservation. This is done through laws that allow for the MHPC to filter what information about sites such as Norridgewock is available to the public:

> Mitchell: Now, the one thing is that there are properties, and most of the archaeological properties in Maine and I would say probably in the country have what we call address restricted. So, if somebody was to call me and say can I get a copy of this, I either have to ask Art, depending on the nature of it, or in some cases we have redacted copies of things that have no locational information whatsoever, so that somebody can learn about the history of it but they can't go find it. There are address restricted buildings and things as well, but if you were to request that from either the NHL or the NR you might get a limited amount of information because of the significance of the properties and you don't want them to be looted.
>
> Spiess: There are exemptions for both federal and state right to know laws for archaeological sites, and that's how we can say, ok, you can have a copy of this but we're going to take out certain facts.
>
> Mitchell: Because they are public documents but they are covered by their own laws.

As Spiess noted, most everyone in the Madison area is familiar with the general location of "Old Point," and it has also been heavily looted in the past, therefore access to information about this area is less restricted. However, the exact locations of features found in the archaeological digs done there in the 1990s are not accessible to the public. Old Point is also only one part of the National Historic Landmark known as the Norridgewock Archaeological District, which consists of archaeological sites on three different properties, including the area of the Old Point

Mission. Specifics about the other properties included in this multi-property district are more "secret" for fear that they too might be looted.

The Norridgewock Archaeological District was designated a National Historic Landmark to protect its archaeological significance. Under the NHL program, archaeological sites are "national cultural patrimony" under Criterion 6:

> "properties that yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures or by shedding light upon periods of occupation of large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded or which might be reasonably expected to yield data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree" (Mitchell 2014; see also U.S. Department of the Interior).

Most National Historic Landmark designations follow a top-down process. As Senior Archaeologist at the MHPC Arthur Spiess explained, sometimes MHPC staff submit nominations, however most often the search for national landmarks comes from the National Landmarks office which is a branch of the National Parks Service:

> "This starts at the landmarks office, what they do is they identify different themes that they want to pursue on a nation-wide basis […] and then do a lot of research to develop a national context and then they go and find the sites that contribute to that theme, that illustrate that theme. So, instead of coming from the states or the local folks where we say "we think we have a nationally significant site" what they do is they cover a topic and then they go and find the places that illustrate the topic. So that's where, how this started, for the NHL" (Mitchell interview 2014).

The places that this program recognizes are understood to have direct significance to the nation and its history. Yet, as Dr. Spiess and Christi Mitchell at MHPC pointed out, most National Historic Landmark studies begin with properties that were already listed on the National Register, which is typically more bottom-up in its process. Thus, the practices that begin to recognize sites such as Norridgewock to be potentially significant often begin at the local level. Rather than adhering to a

bottom-up vs. top-down distinction, by looking at how interests in archaeology and interests in history co-constitute one another in terms of nation-building, we can see how ideas about "the nation" are built in both directions.[162]

Such is the case with Norridgewock. In the 1990s, the Landmarks office conducted two national historic landmark studies for archaeology, one on prehistoric Indian sites and the other on Native American and European sites during the contact period, which they designated 1525-1783[163] (Spiess and Mitchell, Interview 2014). Thanks to local interest in the site over the years, Norridgewock Village was already listed on the NRHP. As Assistant Director of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, Christi Mitchell explained, properties do not need to have a direct or obvious significance to the US in order to be designated nationally significant for the purposes of the National Register of Historic places. Instead, the National Register recognizes places as nationally significant if American individuals, families, or communities claim that they are important to their sense of identity and belonging.[164] The fact that Madison locals saw Norridgewock as important to their own and their community's grounded sense of belonging itself enacts Norridgewock as nationally significant for the sake of the National Register. But, while Norridgewock did fit the

[162] The issue of "looting" is a case in point. Locals and state officials both agree that evidence of the past is important for knowledge about national history, and that having something of that past indicates a connection not only to the past but also to the nation. Yet, government officials and professional archaeologists regulate this connection by determining which relationships to this past are legitimate. At the same time, many practices that are now seen as illegitimate have made the legitimate practices, as well as the regulation of practices, possible or desirable in the first place.

[163] Many of the sites that they gathered from throughout the northeast were already listed on the national register; these were then submitted together as a multiple property listing in the National Historic Landmark Nomination.

[164] According to Mitchell, while occasionally MHPC staff submit nominations, most places on the National Register, like Indian Old Point, are there because community members felt that the building or location was significant and should be recognized, and these "can be locally important, important on a state-wide basis, or nationally important" (Spiess and Mitchell, Interview, July 24, 2014).

theme of the contact period study, local interest in a site is not itself sufficient for a site to be designated a National Historic Landmark. This prompted additional archaeological study of the site and surrounding areas, leading the MHPC to submit some of the lands that were part of Norridgewock Village as a multi-sited district.

While the connection among the nation-state, the ancestral past, and artifacts in the ground is always a connection that must be constructed, it is particularly complicated in the context of settler-colonial states such as the US, whose pre-historical ancestral pasts are not congruous with the temporal or geospatial limits of the nation-state. For instance, the NHL nomination study which included the Norridgewock Archaeological District, is entitled: "Historic Contact: Early Relations Between Indians and Colonists in Northeastern North America, 1524-1783."[165] State officials confined the search for "nationally significant sites" to a time period prior to American independence in 1783. By constructing the past that predates the nation as "national patrimony," American nationalist programs such as the NHL incorporate that which predates the nation into the nation. In this case, state officials used nationally sanctioned archaeological studies to claim Indian pasts, English exploration, and colonial histories as part of the history of the US nation by way of inheritance. These practices enact Norridgewock as a place that holds knowledge of the past that the state must protect for future Americans.

[165] NHL Nomination Form, n.d., courtesy Maine Historic Preservation Commission.

Conclusion

The notion that something else was once here, that important history happened here, makes encounters with Norridgewock vibrant and compelling. Here the past seems to come alive in the minds of those who know something of its history. This tendency to spark peoples' imagination of the past also connects people across time and distance from Benedict Arnold in 1775, to Bishop Fenwick in 1833, to the Allain family in 1974, as they each imagine this past anew while simultaneously shaping the imaginings that follow. And because much of this imagining has been done in tandem with imagining the US nation, this place also serves to ground abstract ideas like *the nation* in place and connect people to it (see Anderson 2006).

While the idea that history happened here has made this site significant to the American imagination, the events and people of Norridgewock's colonial past are not inherently significant to US national history. These events pre-dated the idea of the US as a nation-state and had to be recontextualized and reimagined as part of the US nation in the years after US independence. In the case of Old Point, historians, artists, and locals spent generations considering, remembering, and refashioning the history of the Norridgewock mission village in the interest of the nation.

By claiming that this place and its history are important to the nation, people today also ground the nation in a familiar physical place to which they feel deeply connected. As Joan Allain explained it to me, while other places in the country have famous nationally important histories, like Boston or Gettysburg, "we had our own, right here." She continued:

> It's like a grounding, and it's like oh, we have a history, oh it's Father Rasle, oh well let's look at that. And it's like you grab onto it now because it's yours, it's part of you now. And I came to that[166] but I grabbed onto it because that's part of this history. And that's why when I was in school subbing in that classroom and we were doing Maine history and I said, 'you know the Father Rasle day parade that we have? This is all because of this,' and they looked at me and went, 'what?' And I said, 'well don't you know what this is?' And they said, 'no, we just thought it was a parade.'[...] And I said, 'oh, don't you know about the priest that came here and he lived with the Indians? And he was massacred by the English, […] they killed him with a whole bunch of Indians […] because they thought he was a rabble-rouser and stirring up the Indians. […] And that's why we celebrate because he was martyred there, on this land, *right here in Madison*, that's why we remember him. There's a rock down there and everything.'[167] And they're like, 'oh, well we thought it was just, you know.' So for the rest of the day every class that I had I told the same story.

For Joan, Norridgewock is simultaneously an indication of the nation's presence *right here*, as well as something that the local people, by way of their sense of belonging to this area, contribute to the nation. By instilling in her students that this history is "yours, it's part of you," Joan also seeks to connect the students' life experiences to abstract ideas about the nation and the past. As I elaborate in the following chapter, the sentiment that "we have a history" connects the people who share it and gives them a sense of belonging to a community.

For local Catholics in particular, the history of Father Rasle serves as an origin story for their community in Madison. By portraying Rasle as an ancestor who brought civilization to these lands and died for that cause, they make a claim to their multi-generational belonging grounded here in this very place. It also allows them to claim ownership of this place and its history alike by way of inheritance. Like early historian James Sullivan's nationalist claim that long before the American Revolution,

[166] Here she is referring to the fact that she converted to Catholicism when she married Gary, thus pointing out that this connection to a Catholic ancestral past is not dependent upon descent.
[167] Here she references the monument placed by the DAR in 1926.

the ancestors of Americans had planted the seeds of American values in the very soil that would become the American nation (1791), this portrayal of Rasle is a claim that Catholics, too, contributed to planting the early seeds of civilization and American values "*right here in Madison,*" as Joan put it.

In the introduction, I applied Mol's (2002) theory of the body multiple to place in order to ask: If place is enacted multiply, how do people go about making different enactments cohere? In the case of Norridgewock, historical and literary production, local celebrations, and archaeological studies such as those at Norridgewock all participate in distinct place-making practices. And these practices are often themselves internally multiple: historical and literary practices present and negotiate different interpretations of past events; archaeological practices produce and negotiate tensions between damaging, knowing, and protecting the past; and local commemoration practices struggle with questions about who gets to belong to the nation. All these practices enact Norridgewock in different ways: a place where important events happened; a place about which history is written; a place where the past is waiting to be discovered; a place from which to imagine the nation; a place where the past is accessible to the public; a place where the past needs to be protected from the public; a place from which to claim belonging to the nation. Yet even though these enactments are different, and some are built on disagreement, they are all co-constitutive; each of these sets of practices informs and is informed by others. Furthermore, they all participate in similar nation-building work. Whether by negotiating which events shaped the nation and why, declaring how deep the nation's roots go, or proclaiming who gets to belong to the nation, these practices enact Norridgewock in the context

and interest of American nationalism. Thus, while the specific practices may be distinct, these enactments of Norridgewock "hang together" due to nation-building processes in which they participate.

A key aspect of these nationalist place-making practices involves claiming the pre-national past for the nation, thus stretching the nation's claim to place and to history backwards in time. This aspect follows what settler colonial studies scholars have referred to as a "logics of elimination" by which indigenous peoples are made to disappear while indigenous pasts are claimed as important to the settler colonial state (Kauanui 2016; Wolfe 2006). In the case of Norridgewock, historians and authors have authoritatively narrated the attack in 1724 to be the end of Wabanaki presence in this area. Historians and locals alike have proclaimed and celebrated European firsts here, such as Rasle's first church, first school, and first book. They have subsequently claimed the place and its past as their own, thus replacing Indians on the landscape and in history. The practices that enact Norridgewock as significant to the US as a nation include the firsting, lasting, and replacing practices that historian Jean O'Brien has shown undergirds nation-making in the US. By claiming the place and past of Norridgewock, Europeans are made to replace Indians on the landscape and in history. The replacement narrative is itself wrapped up in American nationalism.

While internally multiple, these different practices "hang together" because they are all involved in a form of nation-building that is wrapped up in settler colonial erasure and replacement of Indian peoples. They produce and reinforce a totalizing narrative, presenting Norridgewock as if it were a single story – a story of the end of Norridgewock Indians and their subsequent replacement by Americans. This story

then shapes how people imagine, encounter, and engage this place even as it shapes subsequent place-making practices. For instance, Kenneth Morrison's reminiscence of his childhood experiences demonstrates how this replacement narrative shaped his own encounter with Old Point:

> "Among my earliest recollections are family excursions on Memorial Day to Old Point cemetery where my immigrant ancestors rest in what once had been the fields of Norridgewock. A weathered stone obelisk standing among the pines commemorates the ancient importance of this place. *Ironically, the monument eulogizes a French missionary, Sebastien Racle, rather than the Indian people with whom he worked*. As a child I did not perceive this oversight, but the granite shaft near the river captured my imagination"[168] (1984: 1).

Morrison is compelled to interpret his own family's experience of this place in relation to a Wabanaki past that predates even his own ancestors' lives and deaths. He also points to traces of other practices that have erased Wabanaki peoples, such as the monument to Rasle, and not the Wabanaki people of Norridgewock, which designates "the ancient importance of this place." The erasure and replacement narrative has come to shape how many locals relate to this place. As people take this story to be truth, it becomes the foundation upon which people build their own sense not only of national belonging, but also of local belonging and community-building. This foundation enables locals to claim ownership and reimagine this place and its past as separate from its Indian history in order to build a sense of shared experience and community.

[168]At the time he submitted the nomination form, he was a doctoral student at UMaine. His MA thesis, completed just two years before in 1970, was entitled "Sebastien Racle vs. New England: a case study of frontier conflict" and focused on researching and writing history grounded in the Norridgewock mission site.

CHAPTER 3

THE PINES: A PLACE OF LOCAL BELONGING

I can picture what it was like on a warm sunny summer day. An old Buick rumbles down the dirt road, over the railroad tracks and down the hill, turning right into the Pines to take the one-way road down along the river-bank. A man gets out with empty plastic jugs and disappears down the footpath to the spring. The air smells of camp fire, grilling hamburgers, and sunshine on pine needles. Families are gathered around the picnic tables, visiting, sharing stories, news, gossip. Burgers and hotdogs sizzle on the iron grates of the fire pits. Kids run around, yelling, laughing, playing. Some of them swing on the makeshift rope and board swings, others play tag or hide and seek. A child yells with excitement when she finds an arrowhead on the ground, rushing over to show her parents. Later in the afternoon, after the 4 o'clock shift change, mill-workers stand or sit at the picnic tables at the south end. They tease and laugh, joke and complain, while sipping on Budweisers or Coca-Colas and smoking cigarettes. Some sit with their wives and children at a picnic table. They eat a late supper in the warm summer evening, as the sun begins to set down over the river. Some of the men stay late into the night, drinking and telling stories around the fire they have built in the pit at the south end. Later in the evening, the north end of the Pines is filled with young people. Cars line both sides of the road. Teenagers and recent graduates gather around the fire in the big stone chimney fire pit. Some of the boys sneak down the path through the woods in the dark and return with stolen corn to roast on the fire. Some snack on toasted marshmallows and beer. They are loud and rowdy, joking, laughing, drinking, smoking, hooking up in parked cars. The curfew alarm rings in town, a few people rush home, most stay late into the night.

Figure 8: The Pines from walking trail at river bank facing the road (northeast). Madison, ME. September 2013. Photo by the author.

Introduction:

"We used to party down to the Pines!"

It is the most common response I get when I tell Madison locals that I am studying "the Pines." Some share stories of their rambunctious teenage years, sneaking down to the picnic area after sunset to party with friends. Others hint at the stories, but keep the details to themselves, offering me a suggestive wink, a smile, a joke about not being able to share their stories in public. Nearly all of them laugh as they fondly recall memories whether they share them outwardly or not. Those of my generation share the stories, rather than the memories, that we've heard from our parents and older relatives. They usually say to me, "my mom used to party there," to which I offer the expected reply "so did mine!" an exchange that reaffirms an aspect of our shared familial experience of being from Madison.

Madison is a small rural Maine mill-town inhabited by less than 3,000 people. Its population is mostly made up of the descendants of Anglo-protestant settlers from the 1770s and French-Canadian immigrants who came to work in New England mills beginning in the late 1800s. Madison was built on the east bank of the Kennebec River at a set of three falls. The power from the river has made this town possible, from the saw mill built in earliest English colonial settlement, to the river log drives, to the long-closed stick mill, to the ground wood and paper mills that were the life blood of the area until Madison Paper closed in May of 2016.

Madison is the kind of small New England town where families tend to stay for multiple generations. It is a place where everyone knows everyone else. People who live here value family and a close-knit community. They historically had large

extended families, many of whom lived in town or near-by, others who relocated to mill-towns in other parts of New England but maintained strong ties to family here and visited regularly. Families tended to live on the same few streets in the same neighborhoods. Children were raised among extended relatives and roamed the neighborhood, always feeling at home. My mother was born and raised here, as was her father, and his mother lived here nearly all of her life. Mom grew up on the south side of Main Street, the predominantly French-Catholic side of town. Almost all her neighbors were her father's relatives and were part of her daily life. Summers and holidays were ripe with extended family gatherings as relatives came to visit from Connecticut. Sometimes these visits would take place at "the Pines."

Roughly two and a half miles south from the only traffic light in the center of town, Father Rasle Rd turns off from Rt 201A to follow the east bank of the Kennebec River. Just down the hill and across the railroad tracks, the Pines picnic area is located on the right side of the road before St. Sebastian Catholic Cemetery. The Pines is a locally renowned party place. Stories of these parties circulate so regularly that this remains the main focus of the local collective memory of the Pines today, even long after the parties ended sometime in the late 1980s. The shared experiences of gatherings and parties offers a context for locals to "know" both this place and each other. As Hugh Raffles explained this sense of shared belonging in a place in a different context, "some of this has to do with belonging, with finding ways to become local and with getting caught up in the elaboration of what Raymond Williams called a structure of feeling. Much of this is the work of discursive practice, in this case, of the stories people tell over and over again that reinforce personal connections to this

particular local" (2002: 55).

The Pines also has a much deeper history that underlies the memories of parties and picnics. The land on which the Pines sits was once part of the Wabanaki Village of Nanrantsouak, known as Norridgewock in English. Today the geographic area that was once the village consists of corn fields roughly in the same locations as the Wabanaki corn fields, a Catholic cemetery complete with a monument to the Jesuit missionary (and "his Indians"), a walking trail along the riverbank, and the old, run-down picnic area.

Until recently, it may not have been readily apparent to the unknowing visitor that this place was part of the old village site. Yet, if you looked closely enough, this area's connection to its history has been marked for quite some time. The stories of family gatherings and parties at the Pines coincide with stories of walking the land or digging into the earth in search of the treasured reminders of Indians long since gone, stories that circulate along with the material findings. The once-dirt road that leads past the site, Father Rasle Rd, is named for the Jesuit missionary who lived and died among the people who took him into their village. The spring was once known locally as "the old Indian spring," (Clark n.d.: 13). The land was once owned by the local paper mill as part of their "Abenaki Hydro Project," named after one of the anglicized names for the indigenous peoples of this place. While people from Madison tend to remember this place for its history of parties and picnics more than for its connection to deeper indigenous and colonial histories, these histories have shaped Madison in important ways.

In this chapter, I examine Madison place- and local-making practices at the

Pines in order to consider how place and identity are co-constituted and how these practices are shaped by the socio-historical contexts in which they are produced. As I will show, a portion of local culture and identity in Madison is grounded in circulation of the experiences at and folklore about the Pines. I examine how people frame their memories of the Pines in relation to one another in order to demonstrate how people create a *social framework* (see Halbwachs 1992) by which they understand their own experiences to be common to people from Madison, thereby constituting part of what it means to be "a Madison local" even as the practices, the people, the town, and the Pines change over time. Through these stories, and the frameworks that give them social meaning, the Pines is a place that is *enacted* as a marker or holder of local belonging and identity that spans decades, linking Madison locals across generations and across geographical distances that separate locals who moved away.

In Part I *Down to the Pines,* I present stories that people from Madison share about their experiences at and memories of the Pines. I unpack the layers of meaning and importance that people have invested in this place and argue that through these shared experiences and stories, people produce and reinforce a sense of shared "local" Madison identity that simultaneously produces a shared narrative, or "collective memory," of the Pines (Assmann 1995; Connerton 2011; Halbwachs 1992; Mannaheim 2011; Jeffrey K. Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011). In Part II *Violence in the Place of Picnics,* I present a story of an experience at the Pines that does not fit with the shared narrative and meaning that Madison locals have built of the Pines. I consider what happens when someone who shares a "local" identity with others does not share the experiences and memories of place that constitute part of that

identity. In Part III *We Used to Find Arrowheads Down at the Pines,* I focus on a sub-set of Madison stories about the Pines, the stories that people share about finding and collecting Indian arrowheads. I suggest that these practices indicate that local place and identity are wrapped up in the settler colonial processes of indigenous erasure and replacement that I unpacked in the previous chapter. Yet, as I show, not everyone from Madison participates in these collecting practices or shares the same understanding for what these practices can mean.

In her investigation of how people's practices bring certain realities into being, Annemarie Mol (2002) opens up questions about how socio-historical contexts and learned frameworks for knowing impact how people engage the world. I expand on her work by demonstrating how epistemology and ontology work together to shape the practices by which people make a sense of place and shared belonging. People from Madison have created a shared *social framework* (see Halbwachs 1992) by which they understand their practices and experiences of the Pines to have social meaning. This social framework enables them to enact the Pines as a marker of a shared local identity over time, as new generations of Madison locals are raised hearing these stories within the context of their shared meaning, which in turn shapes how they relate to the Pines - even as practices change. Yet, while the generations that precede us shape who we are and what we do, so too do the socio-historical contexts in which we are raised (Ingold 2011: 132-152; Mannaheim 2011). The Pines is marked by the traces of its Wabanaki past and the US nationalist place-making practices that sought to erase Wabanaki continuity and claim that past for the US nation (see Chapter 2). By investigating how practices of making place and making the local can perpetuate Indian erasure, I

elaborate on some ways that the settler colonial is lived, how it becomes common-sensical, and how it continues to frame and inform practices that are not directly about Indians in this place made famous by a massacre of Wabanaki peoples.

PART I. "Down to the Pines:" Memory, Belonging, and the Local

It is a story that I have heard for most of my life: parties at the Pines, teenagers sneaking beer, smoking, hooking up in parked cars, rushing to get home when the town curfew bell rang. My mother was a teenager in Madison in the 1970s and this was all part of teenage tradition from before her teen years until quite some time after. But it was not a hangout place in my generation. In fact, it is not clear precisely when (or why) the partying stopped, but it seems that it gradually became less popular as a teenage hangout spot by the early 90s. By the time I was a teenager in the late 90s and early 00s, the parties at the Pines were deeply part of our lives as stories from previous generations, but not as memories of our own. But people's connection to this picnic area is about more than teenage shenanigans. The more I asked around, the more I learned about how important the Pines picnic area was to local memory and identity.

First, Madison locals were often eager to talk about their memories of the Pines. While I did conduct interviews with people from Madison, much of what I learned about peoples' memories of the parties at the Pines came from impromptu conversations with people I "ran into" while doing everyday activities. For instance, one day I stopped at Taylor's Drugstore[169] to pick up a birthday card. Gloria, the store clerk who has worked at Taylor's for as long as I can remember, seemed happy to see

[169] Taylor's is a very busy shop at the center of town, on the corner at the town's main intersection, where Main Street and Old Point Avenue cross. I always see someone I know when I stop in there.

me and struck up a conversation: “Ashley, how are you? I always ask your dad about you when he comes in! He tells me you’re getting your degree! What are you studying?” When I replied that I was studying local history and the Pines she raised her eyebrows and gave me a knowing look, “well, you know, the kids used to do a lot of partying down there! An awful lot of drinking!” This would happen time and again at the local grocery store, the gas station, the school, or anytime I met up with someone who knew me or my family and stopped to talk and ask me about my life, often beginning with, “How is school going?” The reply that I was studying the Pines almost always prompted a story.

Similarly, when I met with the interim town manager to discuss the restoration project that the town had been involved with at the Pines a few years prior, he began our meeting with the site’s reputation, “Ah yes, the Pines. You know, kids used to party pretty hard down there.” I responded that I did know, that I had grown up in Madison and that my mother had stories about partying at the Pines. Upon hearing that I, too, was from Madison his demeanor shifted. He became more casual and shared his personal experience, “Well, *I* wasn’t allowed to go there, you know, because of my older sister.” While the comment prompted laughter from both of us, the implication that his parents had forbidden him to go to the Pines because his older sister had partied there, and presumably had gotten into some kind of trouble because of it, also offered a glimpse into his childhood and family dynamics.

In order to reach more people and gain a better understand people’s connection to the Pines, in addition to interviews and impromptu conversations I turned to the “Remember When…Madison, Maine” Facebook group. The group was, at the time,

made up of about 1,400 people from Madison, some who still lived there, many who grew up there and moved away. In a post on this group's page, I introduced myself and my project and asked people to share their memories and stories of the Pines.[170] In the forty or so responses, people began to in-fill this place with memories both individual and collective. They told stories about the Pines as an important gathering place, not only for rambunctious teenagers looking for some "healthy" rebellion, but also for families and neighbors to get together, for school trips and reunions, and for mill workers to blow off some steam after their shifts.

Examining how people organize and express past experiences and memories can reveal something about what they value and how they share these values to create a sense of collective belonging that spans across generations and geographic distances. For instance, stories about peoples' experiences at the Pines connect people who have moved away but whose memories are grounded in Madison to people who have lived in Madison for their whole lives. They also connect people from different class years and different generations to one another. As Martha Norkunas states, "memory is a dynamic process that orients the individual by linking him or her to family experiences, traditions, class, and place. It is personal and changing, but, most importantly, it is intimately tied to everyday experience" (Norkunas 2002: 43). The stories people shared about the Pines in interviews, informal conversations, and via Facebook began to paint a picture of the site and its uses over the years. It was a place

[170] My post included the following questions: "What are your memories of "The Pines" in Madison? I'm reaching out to locals for stories and memories about the Pines - do you ever go to the Pines? did you or your family members get water at the spring? did you party there as a teen/young adult? did you learn about its history in grade school? Do you have any stories, memories, thoughts, opinions, etc that you'd be willing to share with me?"

where families gathered for cookouts, where children played, where families collected water at the spring, a place for bonfires, and a place for memorable (if not always remembered) parties.

In their responses, people used decades to organize their individual memories in relation to a collective memory and sense of history (see Halbwachs 1992; Connerton 2011). These stories created a timeline of remembered history stretching as far back as the 1930s. Taken together, these stories show how the Pines and people's relationship to it have changed over the years. In the 1930s, the Pines seems to have been more closely associated with its Indian past than in later years. One person's story recalls "hunting for artifacts" in the 30s, a practice that pops up now and again in stories about the Pines and which I will discuss in depth later in this chapter. The fire pits and picnic tables are important to the memories from the 1940s, and remain central to the stories of family gatherings, picnics, school outings, mill get-togethers, and parties through the 1980s. People described the Pines in the 1950s and 1960s as a destination for both school trips and family cookouts, where children hiked around and played games. It was also where teenagers went to go "necking" or "parking." The stories about big teenage parties, bonfires, and corn roasts despite the "official curfew in Madison" begin in the 1960s. These parties continue in the stories about the 1970s and 1980s. By the early 90s, teens continued to drink at the Pines, but the big parties were only a memory. As my older cousin's friend from high school shared, "We used to go down there and [sit] and drink. But not any "partying.""

Taken together, the stories that people shared record a sense of life in Madison and how it has changed over the years more broadly. While I have not located the

documented ownership history of the Pines,[171] the consensus among people I have spoken with is that the picnic area was created by the paper mill company sometime in the 1940s.[172] The picnic area thus marks a period in industrial history when manufacturing businesses were important to the communities of which they were a part, not just as employers, but also as active community builders. Madison Paper Mill leadership hosted regular gatherings for mill workers and their families at the Pines into the 1970s.[173] When the mill administration became less involved in Madison community life, the Pines remained an important informal community gathering space for mill workers, families, and teenagers alike. It is close to town, yet far enough outside of town to make it feel like an escape. It also sits on a side road which was, until recent years, unpaved and away from the eyes of casual passers-by on the main road. Its location made it a perfect gathering spot for quiet get-togethers as well as for less scrupulous activities such as corn theft and underage drinking. The lack of monitoring also meant that the site suffered damage; as Mr. Bob Demchak shared, someone vandalized the picnic tables and fire pits sometime in the 1980s. [174]

The timeline of memories also encodes important moments in local history onto the site, such as the historic flood of '87, which caused so much damage that

[171] Documents at the Madison Town Office dated in the 1970s indicate that this mill owned the land as part of the land area known as the "Abenaki hydro project" property.
[172] According to one popular story, some of the picnic tables may have come from a McDonald's that was torn down in a neighboring town, which the mill then bought at auction.
[173] My parents attended some of these gatherings together, as did my grandparents when my mother was a child.
[174] This is probably when the big stone fireplace with the chimney referenced in many of the stories was destroyed. I was already familiar with this story; my Dad had told it many times while I was growing up. His characterization of the vandals as "disrespectful idiot kids with sledgehammers" suggests that he likely intended this story as a lesson and warning about unacceptable teenage behavior, but he also offered it as an explanation for why the Pines had become a less popular place over the years and why the mill had stopped maintaining it, because as he put it, "it wasn't worth the money if people didn't appreciate it and weren't going to respect the property."

locals still regularly recall it. As Ms. Heather Taylor wrote in the Facebook thread: "[I remember g]oing fishing after the flood and finding lots of deer bones and other animal bones way up in the trees." The flood of '87 has even become part of the memory of later generations who did not experience it themselves, but who grew up hearing the stories of the bridges that washed out, the houses that were destroyed. In my own family stories about this flood, there was four feet of water in Great Nana's living room and dad got stuck on the west riverbank for hours because the town had closed the bridge. While Ms. Taylor does not state that her memory is about the flood of '87, because of the importance of this historical memory, and the stories that continue to circulate about it, any local who is familiar with the history of flooding of the Kennebec River in Madison would recognize it. This is the only flood that such a reference to "the flood" could mean.

In addition to creating a sense of local history and shared memory, people also used the stories to express their own sense of local identity and their relationships to other locals. Most people introduced themselves and their memories using their high school graduation years. More often than not, this method of sharing stories led to side conversations as locals tried to figure out connections between one another - whether they went to school with a sibling, lived on the same street as an uncle, rode the same bus to school, etc. People also used the Pines to mark their current relationship to one another more directly. As one respondent implied, some stories are shared only among close friends who already know: "I'm going to take the 5th on this question. My memories are far to [sic] adulterated for Facebook. Any of you who know me, you know the answer. : P." In this way, participants also worked to "place" each other,

working out their relationships to one another as they made claims to shared experiences and a shared local identity, even if they had not lived in Madison in years.

The use of decades and high school graduation years both crafted a shared temporal scale for the memories and stories about the Pines. They also helped people work out networks of relationships and reinforced shared identities of individuals as Madison locals, placing them into generations that were both particular and also interconnected. People from older generations tended to share stories about family and school gatherings at the Pines, while people from younger generations were more likely to talk about big parties and rule-breaking as teenagers. Some stories such as that of Mr. Bob Demchak, even suggested that new generations of Madison locals were conceived at the Pines: “more than one pregnancy resulted from those parties.” This story links this site with the regeneration of the local, enacting the Pines not only as a place where memories are made and shared, but also where locals themselves are quite literally made.

Following these practices by which Madison locals “place” themselves in relation to one another, in order to open up conversation on shared collective memory for interviews, I typically began my own inquiries by introducing myself as a fellow local and marking my belonging. In Madison, I’m always Chick and Jean Fortin’s granddaughter, Tissie’s daughter, Debbie’s niece, a friend of Joan’s, Madison High School class of 2004 - Go Bulldogs! Recognizable relationships and “insider knowledge,” get you a long way in a place where people are suspicious of those "from away." In the case of the Facebook group, this act of including myself in this shared re-membering of a place opened up a space for locals to “place” me and their

relationship to me. Many people responded to my request by first marking our connection to each other: “I lived beside your grandparents for several years,” “Your grandfather was my godfather,” “How’s your Mom doing? I went to school with her. Say hi from me.” Following this initial act of placing, they then offered their memories and stories in response to my questions about the Pines. For example, Mr. Bob Demchak responded to my Facebook post via email and asked, “First of all, how is Albert (Birdie) Fortin related to you?” Upon my response that Bird Fortin was my uncle, he explained that they had graduated Madison High School together and offered to answer any questions I had about the Pines.

Those who acknowledged that they recognized my family often offered more detailed stories than those who did not, such as this story from Annette LeClair Vachon:

> “Your grandfather was my godfather He was best friend with my dad in their younger days. When I was a kid we would go to the pines every time our cousins came to visit from new Jersey. My parents would make a big batch of Dynamites[175] and all our cousins, grandparents, aunts and uncles would spend the day at the pines. Kids would run and play games, swing and whatever kids do. The grownups would visit and drink. then we would all eat and head home. Later as a teen in the early 60's we would get together at night with a whole gang of kids. The boys would go steal corn at Moore's corn fields and we would have a big fire and corn roast. We as a family always went to get water at the springs just like most all families in Madison did. Men that worked at the paper mill during the 70's would head down to the pines after work for a few beers before heading home. Lots and lots of family gathering went on at the pines during the 50's. Many nights when my dad would get home from work, my mom would pack a lunch and we would have supper down there alone with many families from the neighborhood. My dad had some arrow heads that he found when he was young down to the pines.”

In this story, Mrs. Vachon uses the Pines to encode locally important Madison

[175] Dynamites are a popular food in Madison, see below for details.

history, memory, and values. The story draws on her individual memory and puts this memory into conversation with locally recognizable images and moments that make up a shared collective local memory. As noted, she begins her story by describing us as linked through a close friendship between her father and my grandfather. In this way, she also marks each of us as multi-generational locals, a kind of local identity that people value highly in Madison. At the same time, she notes that some of her family lived in New Jersey when she was a child. In small mill towns such as this, it has long been common for some branches of a large family, especially the French-Catholic families, to move elsewhere in search of work. Many Madison extended families live in other mill towns throughout the greater New England region. As Mrs. Vachon describes, when members of her family in New Jersey returned home to visit, the whole extended family would gather together at the Pines for a big meal, the kids playing while the grown-ups likely shared stories and gossip, reinforcing their familial and community ties despite living apart for much of the year.

Mrs. Vachon associates these gatherings with food that is specific to Madison, stating that her parents made big batches of dynamites, a food that is said to have been invented in Madison sometime in the 1940s by the DeSanctis family.[176] Local legend has it that dynamites were invented accidentally, when an eatery in town, most likely Tony's deli, run by Anthony DeSanctis, ran out of ingredients for their weekly pasta special and decided to put the sauce over white bread.[177] Someone referred to this combination as "dynamite!" and a local food tradition was born. Not only are

[176] It is important to note that a similar food, known as dynamite sandwiches and similar to a sloppy joe sandwich, is popular in the Woonsocket, Rhode Island area.
[177] In Madison, dynamites are similar to a simple spaghetti sauce that is heavy on cheaper vegetables such as celery, green peppers, and onions which is served over bread instead of pasta.

dynamites important to Madison locals because they were created there, but also because it is easy and inexpensive to make large batches of them to feed many people. This is vital for large working-class families and also makes dynamites a go-to recipe for get-togethers such as church suppers, potluck dinners, and family gatherings. As my mom put it: "It was like, oh so-and-so is coming for dinner on Friday, I'm gonna make dynamites. But it wasn't like the regular day of the week dinners like, Thursday nights we had hotdogs, and Friday nights we had beans, and so on, like that."

Food is an important component of a shared sense of identity, not only in the practices of making and sharing food, but also in the specific histories of locally-important foods (Almerico 2014; Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014; Mintz and Du Bois, 2002). Stories and memories of dynamites featured as a separate long thread on the "Remember When…Madison" Facebook page. Dynamites are well-known to all Madison locals, but as many people who have moved away noted, no one in the places Madison folks have traveled (described as FL, MS, the south, Nebraska, etc.) has even heard of dynamites.[178] Thus, dynamites are a food that reminds people of Madison, of their family histories there, and of their sense of shared identity with other people from

[178] In this other thread, many shared their own recipes, comparing them to the original DeSanctis "secret" recipe or stating that they got them directly from Tony DeSanctis himself: "the only true recipe is the DeSanctis recipe" or "those dynamites were good…but not as good as Tony's!" Tony's "secret" recipe was apparently well known by many in town. Stories about it led to gossip about the women Tony charmed with his family recipe: "Tonys recipe was a secret to the many women he shared it while telling each one that it was a secret and not to tell anyone counting on the fact that each one thought they were the only ones who knew "the secret" including my mom who when she passed it was passed on to me. and I won't tell because it is "a secret!!"" There is some rivalry over who originally invented Dynamites, some shared that "Debe" in the neighboring town of Skowhegan also claims to have invented it. There are also two versions of the Dynamite sauce, one, which some argue is the original, is a green sauce made with celery and green peppers, the other is the much more well-known tomato-base red sauce. I should note that today most families would not recognize a green sauce as Dynamites, regardless of whether or not the original recipe was a green sauce. Today, while Dynamites are certainly a commonly known food with a commonly recognized origin in Madison, every family has their own version of the Dynamites recipe.

Madison. The mention and memory of dynamites links individuals to a history that is at once particular to a given family while also shared among many people across many generations through shared food and stories about that food. For instance, Mrs. Vachon's story about the Pines evoked memories of my paternal grandmother's love for this food. Furthermore, when I shared Mrs. Vachon's story with my mother it sparked her own memories about dynamites: "I remember Uncle Raymond and dad used to fight over who had the best dynamites. 'Cause Uncle Raymond used to put pepperoni in his and dad said he didn't understand why anyone would put pepperoni in them and that he wouldn't go over there for supper if he was having dynamites. And he'd tell him too, *I'll come over if you're not having dynamites*."

Like Mrs. Vachon, locals would often story the Pines within the context of their family life, offering a glimpse at what would be locally understood as a typical Madison family experience. The spring, once known as The Old Indian Spring, is one example of this pattern, as many responses to my question included stories about collecting water there. As Mrs. Vachon put it: "We as a family always went to get water at the springs *just like most all families in Madison did"* (emphasis mine). This practice of collecting water is part of my own intimate memory of the Pines and my relationship with my grandfather, a story I shared with the Remember When group in response to these stories about the spring water:

> "I used to go with my Papa to get water when I was little. You used to be able to drive down in pretty far. Then from there we'd walk down to the spring together. I remember he used to pick me up and set me on top of the concrete building-thing that housed the spring pipe. I'd sit or stand up there and sing or tap-dance or do whatever little kids do while grownups are busy, while he filled up plastic jugs with water."

These plastic jugs of water also link the Pines to everyday life at my grandparents' house in my memory; there were always full and empty jugs of spring water sitting out on an old plant stand on the landing at the top of the stairs at the entryway to their upstairs apartment. My grandmother would send me to fetch a full one when the jug in the fridge was empty. I would trade out the empty for a full, leaving the empties to sit out on the landing until the next trip to the Pines. These memories also tie my and my mother's childhoods together, as she shares very similar memories of gathering water with my grandfather, her father. Stories such as this build a local "Madison" family history. As people share their stories about gathering water at the Pines with one another, they link specific, intimate family memories, thus building a sense of shared experience and with it a sense of shared local identity.

Figure 9: The "Indian Spring." The Pines. Madison, Maine. September 2007. Photo by the Author.

In addition to memories that are specific to her own immediate and extended family, Mrs. Vachon also mentions the importance of the Pines to other aspects of Madison life, such as the rhythms of work at the mill: “Men that worked at the paper mill during the 70s would head down to the pines after work for a few beers before heading home.” Like almost everyone I spoke to about the Pines, Mrs. Vachon alludes to the teenage parties at the Pines, noting that the boys would “go steal corn at Moore’s corn fields,” a story common to many of the shared memories, although, according to another response what are now Moore’s fields may have been Wacome’s in the 1960s. As Mr. Bob Demchak shared during our email interview correspondence: “Many many parties all summer long at the pines. Lotsa burgers, hotdogs, chips music & beer. Late summer included trips down past the Spring to Moore's and raid the corn for a roast.” In a follow-up email, he explained that the parties were regular and against the rules, but they typically got away with them:

> “There was an official curfew in Madison, but no teenagers really respected it and the Chief of Police and his crew rarely bothered us. Parties were there on weekends once snow was gone, all summer long and until the snows closed it. I was a [graduate of] 1966. I left Madison in June 1969 and the parties were still going strong!”

People often remember sharing these parties with their classmates, as Mr. Dan Bagley put it, “Many nights spent there as a member of the class of 83! Very Fond memories!” These high school parties continued at least into the mid-1980s, as my cousin’s good friend shared her husband’s experiences:

> “When Joe was in school they partied big time down there. He graduated in 85. He said there would literally be hundreds of people. Cars parked all the way up and down the road and cops could never do anything about it because there were just so many people.”

The memory of high school parties at the Pines continues long after the parties ended. When I saw a friend and neighbor from grade school, Sarah, at the local Irving gas station and told her that I was studying the Pines she laughed and replied, “Yea, you know, mom used to party pretty hard down there.” I joined the laughter, “yea, so did mine.” “I think all our parents did,” she said with a smile. Sometime later, I was walking my dog up the street from my childhood home and ran into Jada, a girl who graduated with my younger sister, out front of the house she had grown up in. After I shared with her the work that I was doing and we exchanged the expected jokes about our relatives partying at the Pines, she told me that her mother’s high school class had just held their high school reunion there. “She had a great time,” she said, “told me it was just like old times.” More recently, my mother told me that she had unexpectedly run into a woman at the store whom she had not seen since high school, “It was practically the first thing she said, ‘we had some good times down at the Pines, didn’t we? Remember when…’ and we shared some memories and some laughs, but, I just couldn’t believe it. I mean, it was 40 something years ago!”

Overall, the stories that people told of the Pines portray a fondness for the place. Their memories of gathering at the Pines as mill workers, families, school children, and rowdy teenagers encode the place with local values and a shared sense of community. These stories demonstrate the complex relationship between individual and collective memory and how this can be grounded in the particulars of a place, or what Raffles refers to as “the imprinting of locality on landscape” (Raffles 2002: 55). They are connected to personal memories and intergenerational re-membering through shared stories, to understandings of local belonging, to school and family and

neighborhood, and to history. As scholars in collective memory studies have shown, memory is an active process and memories such as these are recalled within a collective or community context, but they simultaneously serve to constitute the community, what Jeffrey Olick refers to as "re-member-ing" (Olick 228; see also Halbwachs 1992; Mannheim 2011; Connerton 2011). In many ways, then, stories such as these enact the Pines as part of the *social framework* for individual memory in Madison, a framework that is constituted through the sharing of these individual memories as well as the shared experiences that make up some of the memories (such as memories of get-togethers at the Pines which are simultaneously individual and shared). At the same time, this framework gives these individual memories a broader collective social meaning (see Halbwachs 1992).

Collective memory scholars tend to distinguish between individual directly experienced memories, what Halbwachs refers to as autobiographical memory, and those events that are important or foundational to a given collective (such as a national origin story like the American Revolution), what Halbwachs refers to as historical memory (1992; see also Mannheim 2011). What is interesting about these stories and memories of the Pines is that they are both. They can show us how individual memories become part of the shared social framework that help to orient experiences to create a sense of shared belonging and a context for socially relevant meaning-making. The process is especially effective across generations, as the stories about gatherings at the Pines come to be seen as a shared sameness despite change over time and between generations. Take, for example, the fact that these stories persist and continue to have a shared collective meaning so that mention of the Pines invokes

stories about memories of these gatherings even among younger people who never experienced these gatherings at the Pines directly. These stories then serve to connect people across generational differences, the Pines serving as a sort of mnemonic device for stories that contribute to the process of making a shared sense of local belonging and identity.

PART II. Violence in the Place of Picnics

The location of the Pines on the outskirts of town, away from the mills, and off from the busy main road creates a possibility for this place to be a quiet and peaceful spot to "get away" from town with family or friends, or for a quiet contemplative moment by yourself with "nature." Many people's memories of the Pines include statements of appreciation for the picturesque beauty of nature that the Pines represents for them: a riverside place of sunshine and tall pine trees, with birds chirping and squirrels chittering, and the occasional eagle soaring overhead. The importance of this place as a natural area of beauty is also part of the cultural context that shapes how many Madison locals experience and remember this place, a context I will revisit below and again in chapter 4 when I discuss the new monuments that take up this sentiment of serenity in nature. But the isolation of the Pines makes it a likely site for more illicit activities as well. These activities range from the fondly-remembered teenage drinking, drugs, and sex often associated with the parties in the 1960s and 70s, to the obnoxious and frowned-upon damage to property in the 1980s, to the regular disposal of litter and the occasional experiences of theft that I, myself, have witnessed and encountered. Among these stories, however, are often untold

memories of actual and potential violence in this place. Not all memories of this place are fond ones. If the memories that people share about the Pines enact this place as a marker of local belonging, what happens to that sense of belonging when this place is not, cannot be, remembered so fondly?

In my original post to the “Remember When” Facebook group inquiring about people’s memories of the Pines, I included my email address in case anyone wanted to contact me privately. Only two people chose this option. One was Mr. Bob Demchak, a retiree and veteran who had gone to high school with my mother’s eldest brother and wanted to share more stories and offer to be interviewed. The other was a middle-aged woman, I’ll call her Clara, who wanted to share a darker memory, privately, of being sexually assaulted at the Pines as a young teenager:

> I remember being taken to the Pines one night when I was about 14 years old, by a 38 year old man who was a drug friend of my 16 year old sister. He forced me to have sex with him in his truck. I remember crying. I remember he had a round, hairy belly. I remember the truck was silver. I remember begging to be brought home. I don't know his name. I remember that I was with him because he had given my sister some drugs and she had told me to 'go with him'.
>
> I remember the Pines as a place that people went to, to hang out in cars after dark and smoke pot. I was often in the cars with these people, friends of my sister. I never fit in with them, and never have tried pot to this day. The smell of Pot makes me think of those people. I remember the smell of the pine needles, and wanting to see the place in daylight years after I left Madison. I drove down there one day a few years ago. The sun was filtering through the trees. I went and looked at the water. It seemed like a peaceful place, a place where people should go to experience nature. Not experience it the way I did. Please do not use my name or the year I graduated, our class was quite small at less than 100 people. I've never told anyone about this.

For some people, this place is remembered in the dark. This darkness is both literal and figurative; it is multi-faceted and layered. It is a darkness that is linked to trauma and pain and silence. In her story, Clara presents her memories in pieces linked to the sights and smells that evoke them: the smell of pot smoke and its link to her

sister's friends, the smell of pine needles and its association with her horrible experience of sexual violence. These are visceral responses that are both sensory and affective or emotive. We can see how the connection between memory and place is a connection that is known because it is felt; it is visceral. Senses of place can evoke embodied reactions and memories, a smell recalls, a sight remembers, a place pulls or pushes against you. This is how individual experiences can shape or influence our relationship to a given collective. Consider Clara's assessment of the relationship between individual and collective experience as she highlights the distinction between her violent experience of this place in the dark and what she says this place should be, "a peaceful place, a place where people should go to experience nature." For some people, this place is a place they would like to forget, but it is also a trigger so that no matter how much they try, they cannot forget it.

When I asked the Facebook group for their memories, they shared individual experiences of a collective local memory about the Pines as an important and fondly-remembered gathering place. This is a collective memory of which Clara cannot take part because this place evokes an entirely different experience for her. There is something here about how our memory of and history in a place affects our experience of that place and ourselves forever. So that even now, roughly 30 years later, amid all the stories of BBQs and family gatherings and teenage rule-breaking fun through which locals weave themselves together in relationship to this place, this is the story that comes to her immediately when she reads a request for memories about the Pines posted on social media. Unlike the memories that other locals share, hers are not pleasant; they are not peaceful; they are not joyful. And the contrast between her

response and the others I received is quite sharp. It is visceral even for me. Her memory in bits and fragments and affects is quite powerful even as it is painful. Yet, the sharp contrast between her story and the stories that other locals shared about the Pines does not undermine my claim that locals enact the Pines as a marker of local identity and shared belonging. Instead, by leaving her disconnected from this aspect of local experience and storytelling, Clara's story reinforces this claim. Instead of sharing her story publicly alongside the other stories, she sends me a private email to tell her story, a story she says she has never told anyone. So while her story belongs to a (former) Madison local, her dramatically different experience of the Pines affects her ability to connect to a sense of local belonging through sharing stories of shared experiences at the Pines.

Stories of violence such as Clara's often go untold. In addition to reawakening the emotional trauma of the original experience, when sharing a story like this in a small town like Madison, people can turn on you quickly; call you an attention-seeker, a whore, a home-wrecker, or worse. But these stories of violence also do not fit with the creation of a fond sense of shared experience that builds community. Stories build on one another. The stories that other locals shared of the fond and happy memories grew from one from the next, building a repertoire of shared experience. Clara's story would not have built upon this momentum; instead, it may have threatened it, shutting down the conversation, altering the mood. Yet, once a story about the darker side of this fondly remembered place is shared, it can also open up a space for others to build upon it with similar stories of their own. When my mother read an early version of this chapter, Clara's story called to mind her own memories of stories about and

encounters with violence at the Pines. She wrote to me in an email: “Not sure if it's important or matters, but like the violent experience of Clara you occasionally could come upon a dead dog down there. Who knows if the animals were killed there or just dumped there.” When I asked her about this on the phone, she elaborated and shared a new set of stories:

> “My best friend Brian and I had been walking down there when we were in high school and we came upon a dead Doberman. We didn’t know if it was killed there or died or just dumped or what. But it was horrifying for me. And I think there was more than just one dead dog, if I remember the stories. Because as you know, when you bring up a story then people start to tell them – ‘oh yeah that happened to me too.’ Anyway, I thought it was relevant about as far as the whole violence thing went. I never thought about it until I read that part about the violent assault.”

As my mother observed, stories of encounters with violence and death can open the door for other such stories. My mother told me that Clara’s experience of violence was not the only one. In the 1970s there was a young woman a few years ahead of her in high school: “there was a rumor that something like that happened to her. That can’t be confirmed, it was always just a story.” But rumors such as this point to a side of the Pines that are part of local experiences even though they are not regularly part of the stories that people from Madison openly share. This knowledge about the Pines may have informed some parents’ decisions to forbid their kids to attend the parties, such as the interim town manager’s comment that he was not allowed to go there because of his sister. Or it may have manifested in cautionary warnings about the place, as my mother suggested: “there probably were a whole lot of others that were told ‘stay away from there’ because it was a rowdy happenin’ place in the 70s. I imagine there are others who were like, stay away from the Pines,

especially at night. […] There were a lot of brawls down there too, you know, fights. But that's probably about drunkenness more than about violence."

I am convinced that a lot of dark and violent things have happened at the Pines. As my mother suggests, it was not until she read Clara's story that she thought about other moments of violence that were also part of the Pines. And while it is safe to say that many if not most Madison locals would recognize this place as potentially violent, they do not hint at this aspect of the Pines in the stories they tell.

> Me: if people have those stories when you ask them about the Pines, they don't tell them.
> Mom: That's right, they make it all happy. Happy stuff.

The stories of family gatherings and picnics alongside the happier and fondly recalled stories of teenage partying render invisible these more violent experiences.

Nature and Serenity, The New Monuments

When I think about Clara's story, I also cannot help but also think about the new monuments at the Pines that attest to the serenity and beauty of nature in this place. Many of these new monuments quote famous American nature writers and conservationists while directing visitors to experience and value this place as nature that is serene, peaceful, and beautiful. Quotes such as: One touch of nature makes the whole world kin - Shakespeare; Those who contemplate the beauty of the earth find reserves of strength that will endure as long as life lasts - Rachel Carson; In wilderness

is the preservation of the world – Thoreau;[179] all stand on plaques alongside directions to enjoy this place for its natural beauty (and please do not litter).[180]

For Clara, the focus on nature and beauty is a strong disconnect from her personal experience of the place. She describes, quite eloquently, this contrast between the beautiful peaceful nature and her own memory of the place as dark and violent, even to the point where the natural smell of this place, the smell of pine needles, is connected to the memory of her experience of violence. This is one of the dangers of "the single story" (see Adichie 2009); it renders invisible other ways of being, relating, and remembering in this place. As an organizer of the Nanrantsouak memorial (see Chapter 1), said to me when I shared Clara's story with him: "That's the problem with those things [the new monuments] in the first place - 'look at nature and it's so pretty' - This isn't a happy story in any shape or form, the place is a very sad story."

With his statement, he highlighted the disconnect between how the monuments' direct visitors to see this site as an example of sublime and serene nature on the one hand and the violent experiences that people like Clara have had here on the other. He also framed this disconnect in relation to the deeper histories of violence in this place. As I discussed in Chapter 1, some people believe that the Pines should never be forgotten precisely because of the deep history of violence there, and how

[179] [sic] Thoreau actually wrote "Wildness." This is commonly misquoted and interpreted in conservation philosophy to suggest that the wilderness needs to be protected from humans. Yet, this was not Thoreau's philosophy. According to historian Mark David Spence, for Thoreau, it was contact with and relationship to the earth rather than mere contemplation from afar that could permit people to" fully experience their humanity" (1999:21). As Spence puts it, "when Thoreau made his famous statement that "in Wildness is the preservation of the World," he did not equate the protection of vast landscapes with the preservation of the world. Instead, Thoreau spoke of wildness as a quality that all people should possess, a quality he felt was most clearly understood and appreciated by native peoples" (Spence 1999: 22).

[180] See Chapter 4 for a more thorough discussion and analysis of these monuments.

that history has shaped and continues to shape peoples' lives. And while he did clarify in his conversation with me that there is nothing inherently bad about the Pines that makes violent things happen there, for him the monuments' focus on "nature" trivializes or renders invisible other stories and experiences.

In fact, productions of "the local" through stories about the Pines in general seem to be dependent on erasing violence, both acts of interpersonal violence such as Clara describes, and histories of direct political violence, such as the massacre of 1724. In the case of Clara, the potential for and actual memories of violence that have occurred at the Pines render her unable to participate in the inter-related practices of place- and identity-making. After all, making place is about stories and about community, and while Clara grew up in Madison and is a local in many ways, she cannot participate in the local practice of sharing fond memories of the Pines because of the violence that shapes what the Pines can mean for her.

Yet the erasure of this violence is not the only erasure in which these stories participate and which they also perpetuate. Taken together, these stories and memories give us a sense of how people from Madison share stories of the Pines that enact this place as an indicator of what it means to be a Madison local. But when we pay close attention, we can also see how many of these stories are predicated on an assumption of indigenous absence. Histories of violence that Indian people experienced here are not part of these memories directly. Instead ideas about Indians are brought into these memories through Indian objects left behind, such as arrowheads and wampum, relics of the past that locals find and include in their stories and the shared sense of belonging they build through this place. In a way, then, these stories also indicate how

productions of the local depend upon erasure or disavowal of violence, demonstrating how settler colonialism shapes even local experiences of place-making and reminiscing in this place.

PART III. We Used To Find Arrowheads Down at the Pines

As I gathered the stories that locals shared about the Pines, I found it striking that locals did not mention the history of Norridgewock village (or Father Rasle) or the 1724 massacre in their memories of this place. It was particularly odd to me because, as far as I can remember, I have always associated the Pines with the history of Nanrantsouak and stories about British forces attacking and brutally killing Wabanaki people there. Furthermore, this has long been a well-known story among Madison locals. It is not that locals choose to ignore this history, instead, as I would come to understand, most locals story the Pines picnic area and the history of the mission village separately, creating different senses of place regardless of a shared geographic locale. One of the ways they do this is by using familiar landmarks and historical figures to distinguish between properties on the land. For example, Madison locals tend to understand Wabanaki history in this area through the story of the Jesuit missionary Father Sebastian Rasle, who was also killed in the massacre. The monument that commemorates Rasle's death is located on the property adjacent to the Pines picnic area, where the Catholic cemetery is located (see Chapter 2). It is here where the Madison Catholic congregation has held a memorial mass for Rasle off-and-on since 1833. The fundamental association that most locals make between Father Rasle, Catholicism, and Indian history in this place, taken in tandem with the distinction of plots of land by property lines, could explain the distinction between the

Figure 10: Rasle Commemorative Mass. St. Sebastian Cemetery. Madison, ME. August 2013. Photo by the Author

Pines and the history of Norridgewock village in the minds of locals.

At the same time, this distinction between the Pines and the village is not absolute. Among the stories that locals share about the Pines, some include stories about searching, finding, and collecting Indian artifacts, indicating that many locals do associate this place with Indian history at least tangentially. In some cases, these practices appeared as asides in other stories and memories of the Pines, such as in Mrs. Vachon's story, quoted at length above, which she ends with: "My dad had some arrow heads that he found when he was young down to the pines." In other cases, they are fundamentally part of how people remember and story the Pines. Madison locals share the stories about searching for and finding artifacts, as well as the artifacts themselves, across generations just as they share the stories of picnics and parties.

Growing up in Madison, I remember hearing these stories of searching for or finding by chance arrowheads at the Pines. They are so familiar to me and so ubiquitous that I find it difficult to parse out where I may have heard them, who might have told me, and what precisely they might have said. Instead these stories are part of my own common sense knowledge of Madison, part of the experience of my hometown. Today, if you ask, older folks will talk about their relatives' or their own searches for traces of an Indian past in the form of recognizable artifacts, usually arrowheads, turned up by spring flood waters along the banks of the Kennebec River.

Of course the intentional and unintentional finding of Indian arrowheads has long been a pastime all across the United States and, whether practiced directly or not, this pastime is embedded in the American imagination as a particularly American experience (see Deloria 1998; Deloria 1969; O'Brien 2010). But these broader stories take on particular local characteristics as they are both part of how Americans construct themselves as uniquely American (see Cattelino 2010; Deloria 1999), while simultaneously remaining deeply grounded in local histories and community experiences.

The collection of essays on the History of Madison, written mostly in the 1930s by Madison librarian Emma Folsom Clark (n.d.) includes a section about Indian artifacts just after the "French and Indian History" that Clark wrote for the 100th anniversary of the commemoration of the Rasle monument. This section includes an essay "Relics of a Vanished Race" and a letter entitled "Indian Old Point Relics," both written by Madison local William Brown in 1932, as well as photos of collections of Indian artifacts that people had found at and near Old Point. Brown writes, "Carl Weston and myself during the year last past, have been fairly successful in our search for INDIAN RELICS at and about Indian Old Point (17). Taken together, these essay connect the Old Point with Indian history, but they make clear that the Indians are understood to be long gone. Furthermore, Brown's essay and letter show how the collecting practices become

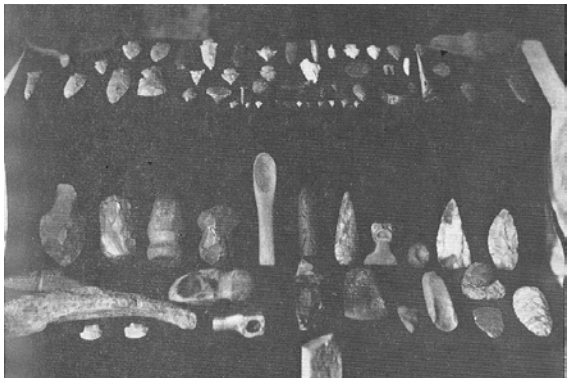

Figure 11: "Indian Relics found at Old Point." From the collection of Carl A. Weston. Approx. 1932. Photo from Clark (n.d), pg 15.

pastimes that are shared with other locals as well as stories to tell.

The local traditions of collecting that these earlier practices sparked work together with other stories of the Pines to produce a local subjectivity and sense of community that is grounded in the particulars of place and history of Norridgewock village. Yet, how is it that these practices can come to build community when the history of this place is a history of violence against indigenous peoples leading to common-sense presumptions about their disappearance and replacement, despite their continuous connection to this place and its history? Stories about finding and collecting Indian artifacts link the Pines to its Indian history, while simultaneously marking that history as one already passed and replaced, reinforcing the erasure and replacement narratives so common to settler colonial place-making practices as I laid out in Chapter 2 (see O'Brien 2010). These stories help to elucidate how practices of "making the local" can simultaneously perpetuate Indian erasure narratives.

The stories about collecting Indian artifacts that locals shared with me embedded these memories within other memories of family and community experiences, memories of playing with siblings, school trips, family picnics. For example, in response to my request for memories of the Pines on the Remember When…Madison group on Facebook, Mrs. Kathryn Fogg writes:

> "In the fifties the school always took us there [the Pines] for the end of the year picnics. We cooked on the fire in the big chimney and had a great time. Back then kids were still finding Indian arrow heads in the woods. Teens used to go necking down there. I never did then but did once in my thirties! Kenneth Roberts wrote about the Norridgewock Indians perhaps in his book on Benedict Arnold's march to Quebec using the Kennebec River. That's a wonderful book to read for any who have lived on the Kennebec."

Or take Mrs. Joyce Gipson's response from the same page:

> "Surely do. Many school and family picnics there growing up. Have a picture of my sister and her friends standing on the mantel of the big fireplace somewhere. Always a treat to fetch water at the spring nearby. Had fun in the 30's hunting for artifacts around Father Rale's monument such as clay pipes, dolls, wampum. No longer able to do that and I think they were left in the basement of my folks home when I sold it. Wonder if those folks found them. The Indians were an interesting tribe. When my Dad dug up our back yard on Rowell Street, he found hundreds of clam shells. He always wondered if it had been a burial ground for the Indian, but my Dad always had a great imagination. It certainly proved they went to the coast for a clam treat sometimes."

Like many of the posts, both Mrs. Fogg and Mrs. Gipson begin their responses with stories about school trips and family picnics. Mrs. Gipson includes specifics about her immediate family members and even includes the spring as part of her experience of the Pines. Alongside these stories, each includes memories about searching for and finding Indian artifacts. Mrs. Fogg writes that kids (presumably herself included) used to find them in the woods, whereas Mrs. Gipson shares that she used to dig for them near the Father Rasle monument. Both of these stories directly link the Pines to Norridgewock Indian history. Mrs. Gipson makes this connection through the Rasle monument to remnants of Indian peoples. Notice how in her story Indians are only referred to in the past-tense, "The Indians *were* an interesting tribe," whose presence is marked only by what they have left behind, artifacts that are now themselves only memories and part of her late father's imagination. Mrs. Fogg makes this connection using books on history, specifically a book about Benedict Arnold's march in 1775, nearly fifty years after the massacre at Norridgewock. Arnold and many of his men noted in their journals that they found the remnants of Norridgewock village there, what Arnold refers to as "some small vestiges left of an Indian Town" (Roberts 1938: 47-48). Furthermore, Arnold stated that the whole tribe was extinct

except two or three remnants (see Chapter 2 for an in-depth discussion of this moment and its implications). By the 1930s, for locals such as Mrs. Fogg, Indian history had long-since been marked as pre-history; while "interesting," it predates the important national history of the American Revolutionary War and has left nothing but traces for local children to find in the woods - traces which, as I will discuss below, are now presumed to also be gone.

Even when the artifacts found at the Pines are not seen, they are remembered and circulated in story. People from older generations recall finding arrowheads or tell of relatives who found and collected them. They tell of artifact collections that people kept in their homes or donated to historical repositories such as the Maine State Museum. Sometimes they wonder whatever may have happened to the objects as time has passed. Madison children have grown up around these objects, if not in material then certainly in storied form. These objects and stories are markers of local experiences and often spring boards for telling other stories about what it is to be a Madison local. In this way, collecting is about a chronicling of the collective memory of local community experiences. This practice of collecting the past is in many ways disconnected from an Indian past and is instead about constructing a local sense of belonging in this particular place. It functions as a process of creating a locally experienced storytelling tradition, linking community and family members to each other, to a particular place, and to a recognized history. Through this collecting and storying, locals build an epistemology where knowledge is about local belonging and stories, and the past is owned communally and locally. But it also is about inserting the local and the self into productions of historical knowledge that is bigger than local

families, such as the history of the Indian wars that becomes solidified in the place of Norridgewock village and the memory of Father Sebastian Rasle (see Flores 2002; Nora 1989). The process goes something like: finding things is how we make historical knowledge and now that I, too, have found something I am a part of that knowledge-making, and share in that belonging with others who have found things. Many families hold onto these objects for generations, transforming Indians (and their histories) into curiosities that they store in curio cabinets. Others seek to include them in more public displays of local history and knowledge, offering photographs to historians for publications and/or donating their collections in part or in their entirety. These donated objects can be found in the collections of the Madison public library (see Calvert 1991), the Madison historical society museum, the Maine State Museum, and the Maine Historical Society (Bourque 2001; Maine State Museum; Spiess personal comm 213). These artifacts become the tangible STUFF of local history and place-making.

You Can't Do That Anymore: Nostalgia as an Indigenous Erasure Narrative

While very fondly remembered among many locals, the practice of finding and collecting Indian artifacts at the Pines is itself becoming a thing of the past. Note the indications of this pastness in Mrs. Gipson's and Mrs. Fogg's narratives discussed at length above:

> "*Back then* kids were *still* finding arrowheads in the woods"

> "Had fun in the 30's hunting for artifacts around Father Rale's monument such as clay pipes, dolls, wampum. *No longer able to do that* and I think they were left in the basement of my folks home when I sold it. Wonder if those folks found them."

Mrs. Gipson and Mrs. Fogg share a subtle sense of nostalgia, of longing and loss, in the way they tell these stories. Today, the Pines is protected as part of Norridgewock Village, both a National Historic Landmark and also on the National Registry of Historic Places. The area is posted "no ground disturbance" on the authority of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission (MHPC). Only professional archaeologists with permission from MHPC are permitted to dig here; anyone digging without permission is considered looting and subject to fines. Yet, locals are not only lamenting this restriction against disturbing the ground to search for artifacts. Many also believe that there are no artifacts left there to find. I have repeatedly heard Madison locals distinguish "then" from "now" in their stories about collecting artifacts: *you used to be able to walk along the riverbank and just find things, arrowheads and things, but not anymore. Occasionally something will turn up from river erosion of the bank, but you can't just find arrowheads amid the rocks anymore*.

Madison locals often tell stories of collecting artifacts as children with a sense of nostalgia and sadness that they cannot take their own children and grandchildren to do the same because they are "no longer able to do that." Older generations tell stories of collecting with a fondness that is not so much a desire to return to the past as it is part of their concern over the perceived inability for the new generations to share these experiences with them. These differences shape how different generations of locals relate to the history of this place and the tradition of collecting, as collecting becomes a remembered practice for one generation and a storied practice for another (see Mannheim 2011). This anxiety over the presumed inability of future generations to

participate in shared practices of collecting artifacts has nothing to do with Indian persons or pasts, and yet, given that the focal point for this anxiety is locals' interactions with Wabanaki objects reconfigured as objects that indicate Madison belonging, how this anxiety shapes ideas about Indian history must be considered.

Scholars of Native American and Indigenous Studies have shown that nostalgia has a specific place in construction of both local and national historical narratives in the context of settler colonialism (Deloria 2004, 1999; O'Brien 2010). The concept of nostalgia and its expression among Euro-Americans in settler states such as the US is an important part of how scholars of settler colonialism understand the practices and processes that make up indigenous erasure narratives, such as the trope of the "vanishing Indian." In this trope, indigenous peoples are erased everywhere except from the nostalgic. This construction allows Euro-Americans to display their own modern sense of righteousness and assert that the disappearance of Indians is regrettable, but necessary for "progress." Within these narratives the imagined-as-prior presence of Indian peoples is used strategically, through this sentiment of nostalgia, to imagine the new American nation as unique (Deloria 1999), or to raise questions about how to build a better society, as in the construction of the noble savage, but Indian peoples themselves are denied the space to continue. Given this historical context for nostalgia that involves Indian pasts, what happens when this nostalgia about the presumed disappearance of Indians becomes the foundation for a sense of non-Indian community belonging, and is then transformed into a nostalgia that reveals anxiety over a changing non-Indian community?

For older generations, collecting artifacts was akin to early amateur

archaeology - a way to search for evidence and have something of history as is apparent in the 1888 newspaper article discussed in Chapter 2, and in William Brown and Carl Weston's stories of collecting from the 1930s (see Chapter 2 for a deeper discussion of artifacts as evidence). In later generations, collecting the past became a childhood pastime, curiosity, and potentially a school teaching tool. In the minds of school children, the stone tools unearthed at the Pines could be explained by grade-school lessons of "the stone age," which from the late 1800s to present have been informed by linear social evolution theory which marks Indian people as less socially and culturally evolved than Euro-Americans. This framework for knowing the Indian past, taken alongside the already-common-sensical assumptions that the Indians had been gone since before the American Revolutionary War, framed these objects as the only lasting souvenirs of a past long gone and on which locals could look back and reclaim as their own. Collecting Indian relics, circulating material and storied artifacts alike as evidence of the pastness of Indian peoples, therefore normalizes the everyday presence of Indians-as-past, and offers evidence of the replacement of Indians by Euro-Americans (O'Brien 2010).

While these relics have always been traces of the past, instead of being configured as traces of an Indian past, they are now being reconfigured as traces of a past way of constructing, understanding, and experiencing local belonging. This is an extension of the replacement narrative that Jean O'Brien's work has located in the 19th century and demonstrates how this early replacement narrative continues while also being transformed. While the early relic collecting practices of the 19th century worked to place Indians firmly in the past and allow for their replacement through the

collecting and storytelling practices of non-Indians, this more recent configuration uses nostalgia to push Indians even further into the past. By reconfiguring these relics from representing a lost Indian past to representing the perceived loss of a particular way of constructing local (presumably non-Indian) belonging, this sense of nostalgia surrounding the relics suggests that even the practices and community constructions that replaced Indians are now themselves quickly disappearing. This anxiety often sparks telling accusations about the next generations of locals losing their ability to ground themselves in a local sense of belonging with comments such as, “they don’t even know their own history.”

Collecting: Not Everyone’s Local Experience

Not everyone shares this framework for understanding what these objects signify and what collecting, owning, and displaying them might mean. This was not a practice that my mother ever participated in because it was not condoned by her father. Instead, my mother sees collecting Indian artifacts from the Pines to be inappropriate and disrespectful. Despite being from Madison for generations and being undeniably local in many other ways, my mother's experience of the Pines, and in turn my own, diverges from those of other locals and operates on a different framework for creating meaning about historical knowledge and our relationship to those who lost their lives there in 1724. For us, the Pines cannot be separated from its history of violence, and the artifacts that circulate are instant reminders of the violent deaths of ancestors who were killed here. Thus for my family, Indian history is less distant than collecting constructs it; it is more recent and in many ways still contiguous with the present.

I am sitting in my father's recliner in the small living room of my parents' home. I have come here for lunch after having spent the morning down at the Pines, watching people who come to the site, noting what they do there (mostly dog walking), and writing in my journal. As I sit visiting with my mother, she tells me that she has been thinking a lot about my study of the Pines. "Dad used to take me down there all the time," she tells me, referring to her father, my "Papa," Roland "Chick" Fortin. He would go down to fill four or six jugs of water at the spring and bring her along, just as he would later do with me when I was a child. She recalls to me that when they were at the Pines, he would tell her not to take anything from the ground and especially warn her not to bring anything home, instead to leave things there where she found them. She tells me that this was peculiar to her as a child, because she often collected rocks and shells and interesting things she would find outside at their summer fishing camp, and bring them home with her. But this was not permitted at the Pines, at the Pines, the rules for behavior stood out to her as different.

For my grandfather there was something about the Pines that required particular ways of acting and interacting with the place that was different from other places. My grandfather was born in Madison in 1925 to parents of mixed Quebecois, Acadian, and Wabanaki-Algonquian-Huron descent. Around 1912 when his mother was about 7 years old, his maternal grandparents moved to Madison from "the valley," French-speaking Acadian communities in the St. John's River Valley in northern Maine. His father was born in Quebec in 1894 and moved to Madison sometime in his early adulthood. Thus like most locals, my grandfather was born and raised in Madison, and lived here for almost all of his life. He went to Madison schools, worked in the paper mill, and in the 1970s owned a well-known "mom and pop" store that sold sandwiches and pizza and ran homemade daily specials. His children went to Madison schools and his sons were on the football team, an important marker of what it means to be a Madison local. He attended town events and community suppers, gave away vegetables from his garden, and welcomed neighbors who just "popped in" for a visit. He even died in his Madison home in 2002.

As noted previously, I regularly introduced myself as his granddaughter. My direct familial connection to this well-known local quickly marked me as a local rather than a stranger, and made it easier to maneuver as a researcher. Yet, even though my grandfather is well remembered in town, and his place in the local community would not be denied, he did not participate in the shared experiences or stories of collecting artifacts from the Pines. Given that he and his mother had both spent most of their lives in Madison, my grandfather was well aware that people came to the Pines looking for arrowheads and things to collect. He would have known that some people had large collections of things that they had found digging in the dirt or walking along the trail or the riverbank. Yet to him, collecting Indian artifacts was not acceptable behavior for this place, and this was how he raised his children.

This distinction between my family and other families' connections to this place seems to have something to do with differences in how we see the relationship between this place and the violence of the massacre of 1724. As noted, in all of the stories of memories that locals have shared with me about the Pines, not one refers to the history of warfare or the destruction of the village in 1724. The few who do link the Pines to ideas about an Indian past usually express a sense of curiosity like the curiosity that locals share about the arrowheads, but they eschew any mention of a connection to the history of violence with which most locals are at least familiar. Thus, as noted previously, productions of the local that are connected to the Pines seem to be dependent on an erasure of violence in this place, both historical and contemporary, real and potential. Yet, as far as I can remember, my mother and my grandfather always connected this place with its history of violence. For example, I

remember them often criticizing the town of Madison for celebrating Father Rasle Days festival every August. Despite coming from a very French-Catholic family, my grandfather held Rasle responsible for the deaths of so many Wabanaki people (see Chapter 1). Even the mention of Rasle's name often led him to comment on the violence that Europeans brought on Indians: "everything would have been better if they'd just stayed in Europe" he would say. As my mom said, "although our family partook in the events at the Pines, it also was always a place of death, war, and violence for us." Thus, while my family does share many of the other local experiences and stories of the Pines, the picnics, jugs of spring water, and teenage parties, for us this place remained and remains saturated with the memory of the violence that had occurred here, affecting how we make meaning and place at the Pines in ways that diverge from other Madison locals.

While I was working on an earlier version of this chapter, my mother popped in to visit a long-time family friend and he had asked about me and my "school project," referring to my dissertation research. I had recently visited with him and had told him that I was writing about the Pines, so this was fresh in his mind. Associating my mother with me and my work, he attempted to open up a social space for shared experience and interest by excitedly declaring that he had something he wanted to show my mom, and then bringing out some arrowheads and other stone tools that he said had come from the Pines. But, rather than opening up a space for sharing, Mom said this made her feel uncomfortable and she was left unsure how to respond.

Her friend likely interprets the objects from the Pines in relation to the locally (and nationally) commonplace idea that Indian relics are an interesting part of history

and are open for collection, that by having them he has something of history. By displaying these objects, he shows that he both takes a locally valued interest in the past and also that he belongs to the community wherein practices of collecting these objects and sharing them (or stories about them) is part of a locally recognized and valued norm, indeed part of the shared collective experiences that makes up what it means to be a Madison local. It might not even occur to him that this practice could bother someone, especially someone who he considers to share in the experience of being "local." As my mother put it, "that's just what people do, and they don't know any better," she said. "It's just what people used to do around here."

Conclusion:

Not many people come here these days, except fishermen who pass through in waders and vests covered with carefully tied feather flies. You see them walk through if you're here early enough in the morning, or perhaps at lunchtime when they come up from the river to find a good spot to sit and eat a sandwich. Sometimes you see them in the evening. There's a rhythm to the movement of fly fishermen, a rhythm of sunup and sundown, regular and predictable, like the steady back and forth rhythm of casting a fly into the rips in the river.

There are the dogs too. You meet them along the river trail, tails wagging as they happily prance with a stick or a ball, often soaking wet from playing in the river. You see them walking with their person in the cooler mornings or evenings of hot summer days, or shortly after supper with the whole family in tow, or just about any time on the weekend. Their presence is pretty regular, but their appearance is much less predictable, much less rhythmic than the fly fishermen. They swing by to walk whenever free time and acceptable temperatures allow.

And of course there are the working men, vestiges of local parties all but forgotten. You spot them sometimes on weekday afternoons, at the end of the workday, parked on the side of the road. They sit with the windows down, looking out over the Pines and the river, sipping on a beer, perhaps remembering the good ol' days when coworkers would meet here for beers before heading home or when high schoolers would gather in huge numbers and party. Sometimes they get out and walk over toward the riverbank to use a tree, but most of the time they stay in their cars. After a while, they toss a bottle or can out the window onto the ground and drive away.[181]

[181] Based on observations from the summers of 2012 and 2013. I would spend mornings, afternoons, or entire days at the Pines observing what people do there.

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For people from Madison, the Pines has long been a place of deep importance and meaning. It is filled with memories that span from childhood to adulthood. It is filled with stories that weave people together across generations and distance. It is embedded in shared values of pride in family, community, and working class sentimentality and in particular ideas about history. Through shared experiences, memories, and stories of parties and picnics, spring water and collecting artifacts, people from Madison enact the Pines as a marker of what it means to be "a local."

In the introduction to this dissertation, I drew on Basso (1996) and Mol (2002) and asked, "How do people enact particular places?" In Madison, people have enacted the Pines through practices of gathering there. Some have gathered as school children taking a day for a picnic, some as families sharing supper, some as mill workers blowing off some steam after their shifts, some as teenagers having some fun beyond the watchful eyes of their parents. People have also enacted the Pines through stories they share about the memories, both direct and indirect, of these experiences.

While it is individuals who remember, memories have their basis in the collectivities to which individuals belong, collectivities which those memories also constitute (see Halbwachs 1992; Mannheim 2011). In the case of the Pines, shared experiences and stories about those memories contribute to a sense of shared local identity and belonging in Madison. The stories that circulate about the Pines create a shared social framework for interpreting experiences, memories, and other stories about this place, so that even people from Madison who have not participated in the

same events or had the same experiences can still potentially share in some of the same enactments of the Pines as a marker of local belonging.

At times this sense of shared local belonging leaves people to expect that other Madison locals will share certain experiences that they do not. Not all locals participate in the same practices at the Pines or share the same frameworks for understanding those practices. This can lead to jarring disconnects, feelings of discomfort, and misunderstandings, such as the example of my mother's experience with her friend and his artifacts. In this case, my mother's friend expected that she would share his interest for Indian artifacts from the Pines in part because of their mutual recognition of one another as "locals" (as well as her friend's knowledge of my interest in Indian history at the Pines[182]). Instead, this moment revealed an area in which their experiences and the meaning they make of those experiences differed, leaving my mother feeling uncomfortable. Collecting Indian artifacts does not hold the same significance for everyone, therefore not everyone, even within the same generation, shares this experience or values it in the same way.

In this context, the "local" cannot be understood as what philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (2001) has referred to as "a bounded concept." Besides the requirement that a person have lived in Madison for at least part of their lives, there is no fixed and complete set of necessary and sufficient conditions that, if met, assure that someone is unquestionably a "local." Instead, the local is an assemblage of experiences and stories through which people seek to relate to one another or find themselves disconnected

[182] I also suspect that an association of archaeology with anthropology may be a factor. Many people from Maine have automatically assumed that I study bones and artifacts when I have said that I am an anthropologist.

from one another. And it is always in the process of being made and negotiated. The local, then, is a more open category that is marked by an internal multiplicity. While local is an identity that is perceived and experienced as shared, the example of Clara and her inability to relate through memories of the Pines, or the example of my own family members not participating in collecting and understanding it differently than other locals, all suggest that the qualifying factors that make up a "local" identity are experiences that are shared to various degrees and that change over time.

Regardless of the possible variation of experiences, all of these stories and memories are embedded in the deeper history of the Pines, a history that has also shaped local belonging and meaning-making in critical ways. The common stories about collecting in particular, and the historical narratives upon which they are built, rely on a taken-for-granted assumption of indigenous absence that renders the very sense of belonging among Madison locals a political one structured by settler colonialism. This means that Madison place-making at the Pines is involved in the affectively laden creation of a sense of local identity that is made possible by the structural erasure of Indian continuity, an erasure which these practices also reinforce.

Madison locals, like other Americans, are fascinated by a romanticized Indian past; they search for signs of it and wonder about it in ways that makes history seem almost fictional. This imagined Indian past is part of how locals understand the Pines to be an important place, it is how they take pride in place and history. But at the same time, this imagined Indian past is strictly disconnected from the present, and as such, people cannot see how that past continues as an active part of the present, except as storied memory. Regardless of intentions and meaning, these stories rely upon the

assumption that Indian people are only part of the past, an assumption that precludes continued indigenous belonging here. As my mother put it:

> "For a lot of people it's just a piece of property where you went to party and it has no other meaning. And the collecting, it erases a whole people, it makes them only part of the past as if they don't exist anymore. It's not exactly peoples' fault as it is the sentimentality of common place that everybody wanted you to *not* remember that this indigenous people were almost wiped off the earth. That was the goal. They didn't want you to remember those things. They wanted you to remember the priest, but not the people. Not the homes, not the gathering places, none of those things. I don't remember learning about those things in history, US history, and what they wanted you to think history was all about. Americanized history."

As I have discussed, collecting Indian artifacts at the Pines transformed from a desire to find and collect evidence about the past to a practice of chronicling the collective memory of local experiences, which many locals perceive to be disappearing. It has become a process of creating a locally experienced storytelling tradition, linking people to one other and to a particular place and a recognized history. Through practices of collecting and storytelling Madison locals have built an epistemology where and the past is owned communally and where knowledge about that past informs a sense of shared local belonging.

While different practices enact place in slightly different ways, the frameworks which inform how people understand and make meaning of those practices and places also contribute significantly to how people make place and how place makes people. In the case of the Pines, the assumed knowledge that the 1724 attack on Norridgewock was the end of Indian presence here shapes how people interact with the place and make sense of their experiences there. Contemporary Madison residents did not create this assumption. As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, this assumption was built into the

very development of historiography and archaeological knowledge in and after the post-Revolutionary War era. Thus, contemporary Madison residents, like most Americans, were raised with it and it shapes their understanding of the world in critical ways (see Ingold 2011: 132-152). This underlying epistemology, then, impacts not only the kinds of practices that people engage in at the Pines, but also how they understand and make meaning of those practices, the Pines, and their own identity both individual and collective.

Not all people share the same frameworks for knowing this place. My mother participated in the parties at the Pines and in the practices of sharing memories and stories about those parties with her children, thus locating herself and her kids as sharing in important experiences of local identity. But, because my mother understands and relates to this place and its deeper history in a different way than other Madison locals, my mother did not participate in searching for and collecting Indian artifacts, or telling stories about these experiences. She also understood collecting practices in a way that diverged quite sharply from many of the people who did collect them. This did not impact her sense of identity as a Madison local or her ability to experience that identity as shared with others. But it did create an uncomfortable situation with a friend. Thus, the place-making practices that precede us shape our knowledge of place and our place- and meaning-making practices.

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One day I was sitting on the bank of the Kennebec River talking with Judy, an elder of Franco-Abenaki descent. Suddenly, after some fidgeting, she said, “what the hell am I sitting on, anyway?” and reached down to pull up a stone. As I watched her

play with the curious object, rolling it in her artist-trained hands, I realized that she had found something, “Oh my gosh, that’s a tool!” “Wow, I knew it felt good like that, smooth on my hand like that.” I watched her as she slid the base of the stone across her hand as you would a grinding tool, “it fits perfectly!”

Figure 12: Judy’s hand tool. Kennebec River, Maine. August 2013. Photo by the author.

Many of the Wabanaki people I talk with, including my friend Judy, feel that objects in the ground should stay in the ground, that locals should not be collecting Indian “artifacts.” Yet, when Judy found a grinding tool on the bank of the Kennebec River, she understood that it might have meant something. Judy found the tool without looking for it; instead it “came” to her. Her experienced artists’ hands knew what it was before our thinking minds did, it fit perfectly and “felt good” in her hand. As a master basket weaver, she decided to honor it, the place it was found, and the ancestors who made it and left it behind, by taking it home and weaving a basket over it. In this context, the taking of this object was not about searching for a past understood to be separate from the now. Instead it was understood as a communication or relationship between the past and the now, a renewing of the past in the present, and placement of the past into the hands of descendants of Wabanaki peoples. For Judy, the tool was not, in this context, a relic, but something else – an embodiment of a relationship between this Wabanaki woman and the ancestors who made the tool and

left it here. It was understood to be a gift, and it would have been rude not to accept it. For my mother, though, this framework did not work either, “I wish I could see it as a gift, but the way dad was with me, I couldn’t take it home, I’d bury it.”

CHAPTER 4

THE PINES RESTORATION PROJECT: A (CONTESTED) PLACE TO GATHER AND LEARN

It is Friday morning. I am sitting at my desk in my apartment in Ithaca, NY. It is September, fall semester of my second year of graduate school. I am conducting my regular morning ritual, sipping coffee as I work at my computer.

A few hundred miles away, in my hometown in central Maine, my mother also sips coffee as she conducts her morning ritual. I can imagine the news on the television in the background, as she sits on our old couch with the morning newspaper. I can see her, considering each headline, reading the stories that appeal to her, glancing up now and again as something on the morning news draws her attention. She picks up her piping hot coffee and sips it carefully as she pauses to turn the page.

She stops abruptly at the local section as a headline grabs her attention. She reads it over again, slowly and deliberately setting her coffee back down on a wolf design stone coaster that has sat on the coffee table for as long as I can remember. Her chest tightens as she reads the article. Her emotion spills into her eyes and down her cheeks. She picks up the phone.

The tone of my cellphone interrupts my work, "Home" is calling. It strikes me that this is an odd time of day for a call from my parents, "Hi."

"Have you read the paper?" No greeting, no endearments, I can tell right away that something isn't right.

"What?"

"The NEWSPAPER!! About the Pines! It's awful, someone has to do something!"

Figure 13: The Pines. Madison, Maine. August 2013. Photo by the author.

Introduction:

"A place for people to gather and learn about its history"

When Joy Hikel visited the Pines for the first time, she said she was amazed. Here was a site with a fascinating and important history that was recognized to be nationally significant, and yet it had been allowed to fall into "disrepair." The undergrowth was thick, the fire pits were crumbling, and there was litter everywhere. Yet even with the mess, she felt a sense of "reverence" for the place, its natural beauty, and its deep and fascinating history.[183] Thus when Joy came across the call for applications for trail improvement grants through the Maine Department of Conservation, it seemed the perfect opportunity to care for this nationally significant place and encourage the public to enjoy its natural beauty and learn from its history.

The Pines Restoration project began in 2009 when Joy Hikel,[184] the Director of Economic Development for the Town of Madison, devised a project to restore the Pines picnic area, improve the walking trail along the river, and erect monuments to celebrate this National Historic Landmark (NHL)[185] and narrate the site's history. In mid-September, 2009, Hikel contacted conservation and recreation organizations in the State of Maine to garner support for the project, including the Maine Department of Conservation Natural Areas Program, the Maine Department of Inland Fisheries and Wildlife, the Kennebec River Initiative, Somerset Heart Health, and the Maine Somserset Public Health Collaborative. Hikel also contacted the Maine Historic

[183] I draw this explanation of Hikel's impressions of the site from my interview with her at the Pines in Sept 2013 and from the record of her letters during the planning of the Pines Restoration Project.
[184] Hikel is from Maine, but she is not from Madison. She grew up in the town of Skowhegan, two towns downriver from Madison, and does not share the collective memories or practices grounded at the Pines that I demonstrated in Chapter 3 are common among Madison locals.
[185] See chapter 3 for details about this place's designation as a National Historic Landmark.

Preservation Commission (MHPC) for a consultation and review of the project for the purpose of preserving its archaeological integrity, as is required by the conservation easement that MHPC holds on the property. Upon suggestion from Dr. Arthur Spiess at MHPC, she also reached out to tribal historian and Representative to the Maine Legislature Donald Soctomah to request his input. In November 2009, with support from the many Maine State departments and organizations but without response from Donald or communication with any of the Maine tribes or Nanrantsouak descendants, Hikel applied for a trail improvement grant for her Pines Restoration Project.[186] In May 2010, Madison was awarded a grant in the amount of $26,000 to which the town agreed to contribute an additional $6,000 in matching funds.

The Pines Restoration Project included both landscaping work and a public history component. In early fall 2010 the Maine Conservation Corps and volunteers from the Maine Department of Transportation completed the "clean-up" and trail improvement portion of the project by clearing unwanted growth, widening the river trail, and building a raised wheelchair accessible path and a walk-way to the old spring. For the historical interpretation component of the project, Hikel hired local stone-worker and headstone-maker Jim Elias of Elias Monuments[187] to build new

[186] It may be important to note that the Town Manager at the time, Norman Dean, signed and submitted the application. However, the project plan and execution were Hikel's.

[187] The Elias family has lived in Madison for a couple of generations. Elias Monuments, known mostly for cemetery headstones, has been in operation for at least 35 years. The business is across Father Rasle Rd. from St. Sebastian Catholic Cemetery and the Father Rasle monument on Old Point. Jim Elias did the stone work on the Father Rasle monument some time ago when the bronze plaque with the English translation of the Latin inscription went missing. He carved the English translation directly into the stone where the plaque had once been.

granite sign-monuments. Hikel read early Maine histories accessible online[188] and collaborated with Dr. Arthur Spiess, Senior Archaeologist at the MHPC,[189] and local area retired history teacher and archaeologist Eric Lahti to draft the historical information for the signs. Dr. Spiess oversaw the test pits to determine the safest placement for these narrative sign-monuments and ensure that the post-holes would not damage any of the archaeological resources per NHL monitoring regulations.

The idea behind the project, as Hikel told the Morning Sentinel[190] in September 2010, was that once the site was cleaned up it would become "a place for people to gather and learn about its history" (Rhoda 2010). As she explained:

> "cleaning up the area will draw classes from local schools, allow native [sic] Americans to perform rituals there and open the area to community members for picnics and gatherings."

While she presented these activities as something new, made possible by the restoration project, the foundation on which she was creating this educational and recreational place was already present. As part of the Norridgewock Archaeological District National Historic Landmark, the Pines was a place where history had happened and where the past had been and could be studied. As part of local memories of family gatherings, school outings, and big parties, it the Pines was already a place where families and school children had gathered. As part of Nanrantsouak village and the Old Point Mission, it was also a place that was important to Wabanaki peoples

[188] In an interview, she told me that she was amazed at how much history you could access for free online through sites such as Project Gutenberg and archive.org, etc. When I searched these sites, I found that the histories of Norridgewock or Rasle that were available through them were the same histories from the late 18th and the 19th centuries that I have discussed at length in Chapter 3, a point to which I will return in this chapter.

[189] Because the site is designated a National Historic Landmark, any projects that could disturb the ground, in this case digging post-holes, requires review and approval from the MHPC.

[190] The Morning Sentinel is a regional newspaper out of Waterville, Maine. It is Madison's local paper.

who had lived and been gathering there for hundreds of years. Yet, while Hikel acknowledged that the Pines was important to locals and Wabanaki peoples alike, and stated that she wanted to incorporate the local and Native American significance of site into the project, she did not develop the project in collaboration with them.

In September 2010 the Morning Sentinel printed an article entitled “In Madison - Site of Slaughter Gets a Facelift” in the local news section. Journalist Erin Rhoda began, “The town can't change the history that comes with the site of one of the largest slaughters of native [sic] Americans in Maine. But it can mend the landscape and teach people about the area's significance.” The article described the Pines Restoration Project as a beautification project to improve the river trail and picnic area at the Pines and place signs depicting the site’s “nationally significant” history, which included Father Sebastian Rasle’s missionary work, the conflict that “marked the end of the tribe in the area” because the tribe “never recovered” after 1724, and the presence of Benedict Arnold during the American Revolutionary War.

While local response to the article was otherwise quiet, my mother found the offhanded way it presented the site’s violent history to be distressing. She was also concerned about the project that the article described and wondered if any Wabanaki descendants of Nanrantsouak were involved. In response, I contacted organizers of the annual memorial gathering to express these concerns. This initial outreach led to a flurry of phone calls and emails across a wide network of relations, grounded in participants of the memorial gathering at Nanrantsouak and radiating outward to include other Nanrantsouak descendants and their tribal and non-tribal relations, eventually making its way to the Maine Indian Tribal-State Commission (MITSC) and

to the two Tribal Representatives to the Maine Legislature.

Many Wabanaki people were surprised to hear that Madison was undertaking this project, about which no one had any prior knowledge.[191] They were further taken aback by the representation of the history of Norridgewock, particularly its portrayal as the "end" of their people in newspaper article. In their discussions with one another, they expressed concerns about what the article's lack of historical knowledge and sensitivity to living Nanrantsouak descendants might imply about the project it described. Many were concerned that without Wabanaki voices, the historical interpretation component would convey to the public inaccurate versions of history that undermined their own connections to this place.[192]

In contrast, most of the Madison locals I later spoke with who describe themselves as daily newspaper readers had no recollection of the newspaper article. As I dug deeper I found that, with the exception of resident town officials and the men who built the monuments, Madison residents were generally not involved in the project.[193] Most Madison locals were not even aware that the project had taken place, even two years after it had been completed. Of those who were or became familiar with the project, some felt it was important for the history to be presented, others were critical of the project as a whole, especially regarding how town officials were

[191] My outreach regarding the newspaper article was how most Wabanaki people found out about the project, which was almost complete at the time the newspaper article was published. This was in part due to location; many of the Nanrantsouak descendants in Maine live in areas that receive newspapers other than the Morning Sentinel, such as the Bangor Daily News or the Portland Press Herald.
[192] These discussions occurred via email and phone conversations immediately following the publication of the newspaper article, but continued for quite some time afterwards. People also discussed their concerns about the project at various gatherings, including the Nanrantsouak memorial gathering, in the following years.
[193] The project appears as business to discuss in the notes from two town meetings, thus attendees were at least aware that the project existed. However, Madison town meetings are not well attended.

spending their time and money in a town that was struggling economically.

In this chapter, I consider how the various responses to and criticisms of the Pines Restoration Project reveal politics that underlie Hikel's place-making project at a location that was already filled with multiple and overlapping enactments of place. By examining the overt politics and struggles of place-making in this way, I expand on Annemarie Mol's work. In her construction of the body as multiple, Mol demonstrates how, despite the different practices by which different actors experience and engage with the presence, appearance, and effects of atherosclerosis, these practices *enact* a multiple disease and body that still "hangs together" *as if* it were singular[194] (2002). By focusing on practice, Mol opens up possibilities for analytic questions about how power and politics shapes how the body, or in my case place, is enacted multiply and the mechanisms actors use to make them cohere. While not the focus of her work,[195] Mol notes that unequal distribution of power shape how the body is enacted, therefore politics is central to understanding both how enactment multiplies reality and the effects of those multiple (and at times competing) enactments. In her study of the body, "[t]here are innumerable tensions inside medicine but clashes between fully fledged paradigms are rare" (178). I expand on this work by considering a context in which clashes of this sort are more central and unpacking the overt struggle of power and politics embedded in multiple enactments of place are brought into conflict.

[194] As she puts it, the body is "more than one - but less than many" (Mol 2002: 55).
[195] Mol lays the way that she does and does not engage overt politics of this sort in terms of criticism and appropriateness. She notes that, while her work is not neutral, it does not engage in criticism (182) and while she states it is important for questions to be asked about the appropriateness of various enactments of the body, "I do not ask such I don't ask such questions here. I don't delve into the question of how the appropriateness of the various enactments presented are, or might be, judged. Instead I take part in creating a theoretical for thinking about this. I contribute to theorizing medicine's ontological politics: a politics that has to do with the way in which problems are framed, bodies are shaped, and lives are pushed and pulled into one shape or another." (viii)

The practices that enact the Pines in slightly distinct ways, as a place of Wabanaki survivance, a place of national significance, and a place of local parties and picnics, are all shaped by the history of Nanrantsouak village and the violence that occurred there in 1724, but they are not all shaped in the same way. Some of these enactments are complimentary while others are incompatible. Because of the settler colonial context in which the practices of doing and knowing this place and its history are embedded, and the socio-political hierarchies that this context produces, the different enactments of place do not stand on even ground. The stakes are different for locals than they are for Wabanaki peoples if and when their histories and connections to this place are challenged.

With the Pines Restoration Project, Hikel sought to incorporate the national, local, and Native American significance of this place together. As a town official and the head of the Pines Restoration Project, Hikel was in a position of power to make decisions about how to enact this place for the general public, including whose historical narratives and relationship to this place to present, in what way, and who would participate in the decision-making process. By unpacking the mechanisms by which Hikel made these decisions and incorporated different enactments of this place into her enactment of the Pines as a place for people to gather and learn, I explore the politics of place-making involved in taking different, and at times incompatible, enactments of place and incorporating them into a single, coherent "place-world."[196]

Throughout this chapter, I ground my analysis in the new educational sign-

[196] Basso explains, "instances of place-making consist in an adventitious fleshing out of historical material that culminates in a posited state of affairs, a particular universe of objects and events – in short a *place-world* – wherein portions of the past are brought into being" (1996:6).

monuments that were placed at the Pines in 2011 as part of the Pines Restoration Project. As the most visible and enduring markers of the project and as public artifacts that shape how visitors encounter the Pines as place and history, the monuments are a key entry-point into understanding the Pines Restoration Project as a whole. In general, monuments are powerful ways of representing public history because they work through moments of encounter which they attempt to shape both by directing our movement through space and by acting on our knowledge or memory of the past (Flores 2002; Norkunas 2002). At the same time, these moments of encounter are never one-sided. We encounter monuments with histories, memories, and experiences we already carry with us and these frame the encounter in some way. In this exchange between our existing knowledge and experience, we may find surprising gaps in our knowledge and use the narratives on the monuments to fill them; we may find our knowledge or assumptions challenged and experience moments of disorientation and disconnection; we may find ourselves experiencing our pre-existing knowledge in a new spatial way as the monuments enact narratives with which we are already familiar. For this reason, monuments are important sites for analyzing the politics involved public place-making projects.

In this chapter, I trace the politics of place-making in three areas of contestation at the Pines: I. Space, II. Knowledge and History, and III. Nature, Restoration, and Environmentalism, by exploring the mechanisms by which the Pines Restoration Project renders the place multiple *as if* it were singular. I juxtapose these with the reactions and critiques of the new enactments and consider how and why some attempts to render the multiple singular work smoothly and others do not. First, I

demonstrate how the new spatial and visual organization of the Pines links national history, the picnic area, and the Rasle memorial, collapsing multiple senses of place-locale into one. I consider the politics of this move and the tensions and challenges it poses for local and Wabanaki place- and history-making. Second, I focus on the new historical monuments in order to consider how the Pines Restoration Project presents a coherent narrative out of the many meanings of this place. I argue that, while the project incorporates local, national, and Native American aspects of the Pines's history, when there are conflicts the national place-making "wins." The project therefore perpetuates 18th and 19th century Indian erasure and replacement narratives. Finally, I unpack the theme of environmentalism that runs through the monuments. I examine how the Pines Restoration Project made the inclusion of Wabanaki voices to be consistent with narratives of their erasure by mobilizing a form of environmentalism that weaves together the trope of the vanishing Indian and the trope of the ecologically noble Indian.

PART I. Space

I first went to the Pines to investigate the new monuments in late summer 2012. I had seen photographs of them but while these did give me a sense of what they looked like, they did not give me a sense of how they were placed on the landscape or how the assortment of messages on the different signs fit together. When I arrived at the Pines, I parked the car on the side of the road at the north end where the old road to the spring used to be, just as I have done since the town placed the boulders to block cars from entering in 2005. I got out of the car, and looked around, wondering where the new monuments were. I walked between the boulders at the beginning of the old

road bed, which now serves as the river trail, and spotted a granite sign low to the ground where the trees had been cleared on the river bank to create a viewpoint overlooking the river. I walked over until I could read:

THOSE WHO CONTEMPLATE THE BEAUTY OF THE EARTH FIND RESERVES OF STRENGTH THAT WILL ENDURE AS LONG AS LIFE LASTS.
-RACHEL CARSON

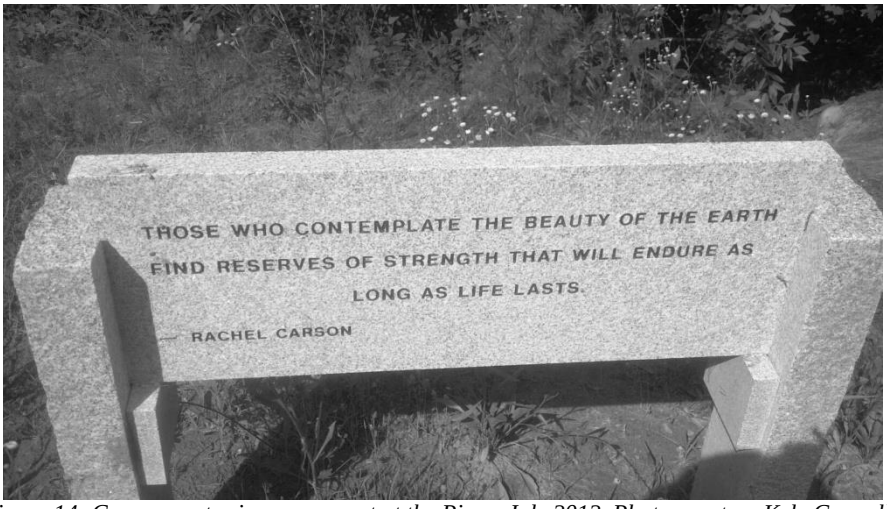

Figure 14: Carson quote sign-monument at the Pines. July 2012. Photo courtesy Kyle Connolly.

Seeing no other signage, but knowing it must be here somewhere, I continued to walk my usual route down the river path into the Pines. It was a beautiful day for a river walk. The sun was shining, the birds were singing, the river rushing and babbling just beyond the trees to my right. Besides the recent clearing of brush and new growth, nothing here seemed different.

I moved further into the old picnic area until finally I spotted a large granite slab held up between two granite posts off to my left by one of the old picnic tables and fire pits. I shifted my course off the trail and crossed the picnic area diagonally, finding myself facing the back side of one of the large new historical monuments.

Perplexed, I walked around to its front and found it was covered with text informing me that this was protected property, a National Historic Landmark, and that the history of this site "provides marvelous details of the importance of this land and links nationally significant episodes."

From this spot, I could see more granite sign-monuments, all similar in style but of various heights and sizes, scattered among the trees between here and the road. The other of the two largest signs was up closer to the road, next to an old fire pit and a new granite picnic table which had recently been raised up and leveled with gravel in order to make this spot wheelchair accessible. I walked over to it, finding myself again approaching the back of the sign.

I was suddenly aware of how disoriented I felt in this place that had always been familiar to me. I again walked around to the front of the sign to find a similar layout, with the same information about the protected property and historic landmark but different historical text. From my perspective, while the signs were clustered around the main picnic tables and fire pits, they seemed oddly scattered about and without pattern. I returned to continue my walk down the river trail. Here the signage dotted the trail at semi-regular intervals on either side, facing me as I walked south, down-river from the Pines. These continued at semi-regular intervals all the way down to the fork in the path where the last sign directed me off of the main river trail, which leads to the beach across from where the Sandy River empties into the Kennebec, and down a side-path to the left which leads to St. Sebastian Catholic cemetery:

TO FATHER RALE MONUMENT
PLEASE RESPECT THE SANCTITY
OF THIS SITE

Figure 15. Direction sign-monuments at the Pines. Madison, Maine. August 2013. Photo by the Author

The disorientation I experienced on this visit to the Pines indicates that this project was created outside of Madison local place-knowledge.[197] This is a place with which I, as a multi-generational Madison local, am intimately familiar. Like many other Madison locals, I have been visiting with some regularity since my childhood when my grandfather would drive into the site via the old riverside road down to the old spring to fill jugs of water. I have always entered the site from the north end, where that old road used to be, and I had always observed other locals, usually coming to walk their dogs, entering this way as well (with the exception of fly-fishermen who usually take a shortcut to the river further downstream). However, as I reflected on every meeting that I had with non-locals at the site since the monuments had been placed, including my interview with the Pines Restoration Project organizer Joy Hikel, I realized that they all parked further down the main road and waited for me at the other end of the picnic area near the cluster of picnic tables and new monuments. The layout of the monuments had created a new spatial map of the site which directs

[197] For more in-depth discussion of how this site is enacted as a marker of Madison local belonging, see Chapter 2.

visitors into the center of the picnic area from the road, along the new raised accessible path. These visitors were being oriented to the site by the monuments, whereas I was orienting to the site by memory and local experience. This indicates that these monuments are themselves in a position of power to direct people's movements through the space and therefore, by extension, also people's interaction with the history that the monuments present. But the stakes are different for the different people, stories, and enactments that are affected by the way that the Pines Restoration Project has reconstructed the space. Locals may find that they feel disoriented in a place that they expect to feel familiar while Wabanaki peoples may feel that their histories, voices, and understandings of this place are undermined or threatened.

As noted previously, the Pines and the site of the Rasle monument are separate properties, and thus archaeologists and locals alike have tended to enact them as distinct places.[198] Prior to 2011, it would not have been immediately apparent to any visitor that this location had any connection to Nanrantsouak. Yet, for many Wabanaki peoples who carry the stories and memories of Nanrantsouak, the Pines is indivisible from the village history. By placing the new signage in this way, the Pines Restoration Project was able to connect the Pines picnic area to the history of the Wabanaki village and the memory of the massacre and thus collapse some of the spatial distinctions between the two properties, aligning more closely with Wabanaki enactments of this area than with local ones.

[198] Both locals and archaeologist are generally aware that both locations were part of the village, but property distinctions shape archaeological practice so that these are separate archaeological sites with separate identification information. Likewise, locals they have historically associated the area around the Rasle monument nearer to the Old Point with this village massacre story and instead have storied the Pines as a local community gathering place, albeit one that had fallen into disuse.

At the same time, for some people there was something troubling about connecting the picnic area with the massacre history. In an interview with the Morning Sentinel, Hikel stated that the project would encourage picnics, school trips, and Indian 'rituals,' a construction that subtly suggests an equivalence between school history learning, Indian "rituals", and local picnics. The conflation of the picnic area with the history of violence, alongside the constructed equivalence of vastly different historical experiences and place-making practices at the Pines, sparked some harsh criticism. As my sister put it to me in a conversation via instant messenger shortly after the project was announced in the local paper:

> "It sucks for several reasons, not the least of which is they're turning a natural, historical site into a tourist attraction. It's like a metaphorical continuation of the slaughter. "Here we'll use our technology to take over your land in any way we can. Having a birthday? Come have a picnic and celebrate on this beautiful, riverside spot where an entire group of people were wiped out! Bring the kids! It makes our town look good."

While the connection between the Pines and the Rasle monument site collapses some of the distinction between the properties, it also imposes boundaries on the Nanrantsouak village site that do not reflect how Wabanaki peoples understand the village or its continuing history. Wabanaki peoples see Nanrantsouak as a place made up of a vast territory on both sides of the river in which the people from or connected to the village would have traveled and lived. They also see Nanrantsouak as part of a network of villages and relations that spread widely across the landscape. The monuments, however, symbolically and visually bind the history of the Norridgewock Mission, and by association Nanrantsouak village, to the Pines and to the Rasle monument, thus restricting and bounding Wabanaki history and place to the properties

that the state recognizes to be historically significant.

While the Pines Restoration Project does connect different properties that are part of the same history, it stays within the purview of already state-sanctioned place-making. This indicates that the Pines Restoration Project took the enactment of Old Point/The Pines as a nationally significant site as the ground for enacting the place anew. When conflict between place-making practices and understandings arose in the course of project director Joy Hikel's desire to incorporate different voices and understandings of the Pines history into account, she chose the nationally significant place-knowledge as the most accurate and adjusted other enactments of place and understandings of history to conform to it. This is particularly apparent in the historical narratives that are presented on the new monuments.

PART II. Knowledge and History

Following this new spatial orientation, the first of the two large signs begins:

TOWN OF MADISON, ME
PROTECTED PROPERTY
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

The large bold letters impress upon visitors a sense of authority that invokes the presence of both the town of Madison and the (US) nation. They direct visitors to interpret and interact with this space within the framework of protected property as a National Historic Landmark.[199] To historicize the Pines, the new monuments utilize documentary and scientific forms of historical knowledge, thus legitimizing these approaches to place- and history-making knowledge.

For example, the next lines on the first sign offer details about how the site was

[199] for a history of the NHL designation, see Chapter 3.

designated a National Historic Landmark. This explanation grounds the site's significance in the authoritative knowledge of archaeology, the science of history:

DESIGNATION APRIL 12, 1993
AS PART OF THE NORRIDGEWOCK ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISTRICT ME 69-2
NOMINATION BASED ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD WORK BY
JAMES B. PETERSEN AND UNIVERSITY OF MAINE ARCHAEOLOGISTS

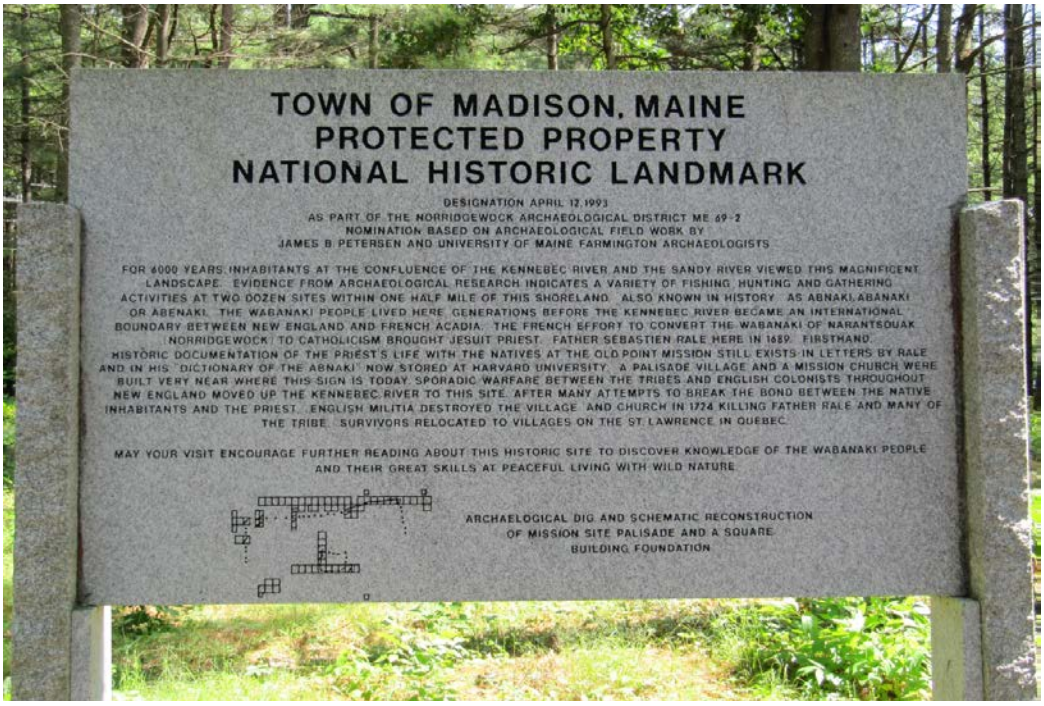

Figure 16: First of two large historical signs in the new sign-monument series at the Pines. Madison, Maine. August 2013. Photo by the Author.

Following these headers, the sign presents a historical summary of the mission village. There is no bibliographical information on the monument to indicate from where this historical narrative was drawn. Instead, a diagram of the archaeological dig follows the summary and visually and symbolically serves to render the historical narrative legitimate. The monument commemorates not only the past, but also the history of the production of knowledge *about* that past. This framework positions the town of Madison as an important site of knowledge production for both Maine and the Nation.

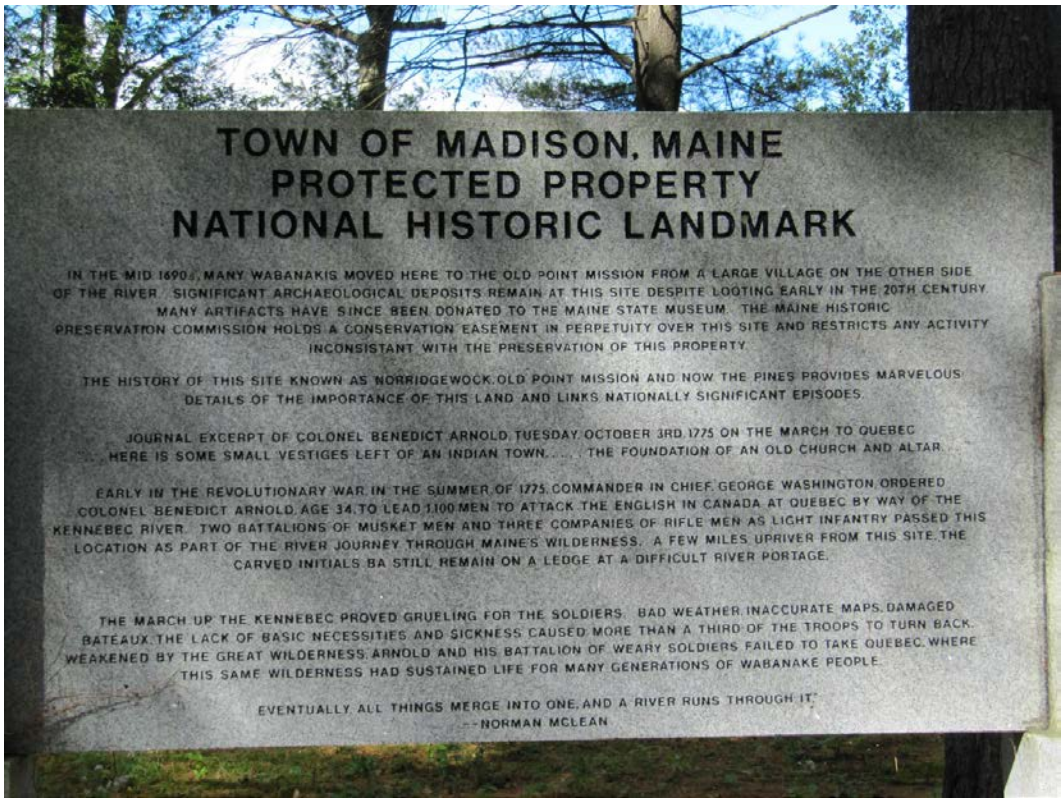

Figure 17: Second of two large historical signs in the new sign-monument series at the Pines. Madison, Maine. August 2013. Photo by the Author.

The second of the two large historical markers begins with the same heading in the same big, bold letters, ritually repeating the symbolic declaration and construction of the site as an important, protected, and nationally significant property. Like on the first monument, the header is followed by a summary of archaeological knowledge about Wabanaki history, especially in the historic era of the mission village post-1690. This second sign also explicitly declares that the site's history makes it important and nationally significant:

THE HISTORY OF THIS SITE KNOWN AS NORRIDGEWOCK, OLD POINT MISSION,
AND
NOW THE PINES PROVIDES MARVELOUS DETAILS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS LAND AND LINKS NATIONALLY SIGNIFICANT EPISODES.

A summary of the history of Benedict Arnold's march up the Kennebec[200] follows this declaration of national significance. With this visual association, the sign constructs Arnold's march through this place as an example of a nationally significant episode. It constructs Arnold's presence and his reflection on the Indian past that preceded him in this place as an example of how this site links those nationally important episodes. Within the structure of the sign, the older history of the site is replaced in stages by newer history – Norridgewock, Old Point Mission, and *now* the Pines – and the older history becomes noteworthy because nationally important people like Benedict Arnold encountered it and documented their encounter.

The Project Teaches History

The Pines Restoration Project served to bring national history to locals and embed it in a local place as a means of teaching through encounter. As Erin Rhoda, staff writer for the Morning Sentinel, put it in her article announcing the project, "Now, the national historic landmark is becoming a place for people [to] gather and learn about its history" (Rhoda 2010). The narratives that the new monuments present are made of documentary evidence, research, interpretation, and summary texts, and therefore fulfill the criteria that public historian Martha Norkunas lays out for official/national historic monuments (1993, 2002) These kinds of monuments connect visitors to particular stories about the nation, how to think about it, understand it,

[200] See chapter 3 for a thorough discussion of how Benedict Arnold's march has been used to mark the Pines as nationally significant.

relate to it, and acknowledge its presence.[201] Project organizer Joy Hikel designed the plan for the signs, choosing what messages would be presented to the public and what would be included in the overall narrative. To do this, Hikel relied in part on Arthur Spiess and Eric Lahti, who drafted the bulk of the text on the history of archaeology at the site and the history of Benedict Arnold's march. Hikel also conducted her own historical research, using open access databases of texts that are no longer under copyright and therefore freely accessible, such as the Gutenburg Project and archive.org (Hikel, personal comm, 2013).

Hikel told me that she found this research to be really enticing, "oh my goodness, my goodness, my goodness, those were interesting histories to read. […] it's just so easy, it wasn't hard reading, you know any 6th grader should be able to read that and get something exciting out of it, 'cause it was actually exciting." Hikel wanted to use the monuments to inspire others, especially youth, to seek out and investigate these histories on their own, and ultimately to instill values of historical curiosity and investigation in anyone who encounters the new monuments. Because of this desire, the monuments she designed do not present complete narratives; instead they present images, ideas, suggestions, and even direct calls for more research: "may your visit encourage further reading about this historic site to discover knowledge…"

However, when I visited the Madison Public Library to investigate what resources were available to locals who might want to look up some of the history of Old Point/Norridgewock, I found very little. The only two books available that

[201] They do this multiple ways, sometimes through narrations of historical facts determined to be important by researchers and planners such as on waysides and explanatory placards, and sometimes through imagery, likeness, and symbolism that seek to index historical knowledge in the minds and memories of visitors and onlookers (see Norkunas 1993, 2002 for more in-depth discussion).

included some history about Norridgewock village or the Old Point mission were The History of Madison, written by librarian Emma Folsom Clark in the 1930s (see Chapter 2), and Black Robe on the Kennebec, a well-researched but dramatized history of Father Sebastian Rasle by local amateur hobby historian Mary Calvert (1991). Beyond these two books, locals interested in learning the history would most likely turn, as Joy Hikel did, to the online archives of those local histories written in the 18th and 19th centuries.[202] All of these texts present the Norridgewock village history from the local and nationalist perspectives that construct and/or reinforce Wabanaki decline, erasure, and replacement as I demonstrated in chapters 2 and 3, a point to which I will return below.

Hikel also stated that the project would "teach locals" about the history of the site and its significance to the nation (Rhoda 2010). This statement reveals two assumptions, one that locals are ignorant of the historical narratives that they presumably should know and two that the history they do know or have in this place is not significant to the nation. When her history project was not well received locally, these assumptions allowed her to dismiss the critiques that locals had about her failure to acknowledge their connection to this place on the grounds of a disinterest in education, "I misread my population. They don't care about education." By assuming that locals did *not* know, Hikel dismissed what they *do* know and how they enact this place in meaningful ways that shape their sense of local community and belonging. This became apparent in some locals' critiques of how Hikel spelled the Jesuit Father Sebastian Rasle's name.

[202] These are the same histories that make up the bulk of the indigenous erasure and replacement narratives I discussed in Chapter 2.

"They even spelled his name wrong!"

In October 2010 I attended the wedding of a childhood friend in Madison. At the reception, I found myself sitting with Greg and Julie Elias, Madison locals whom I had known my whole life. As part of "catching up," they asked me what I had been up to and "how is school going?" When I explained that I was studying the Pines and was interested in the restoration and monuments project that was underway, Greg told me that the town had contracted his cousin Jim Elias to build the monuments. When I asked Greg how it had been going, he rolled his eyes and told me that he had been helping with them and that it had been a frustrating experience. "They even spelled his name wrong!" he proclaimed, referring to Father Sebastian Rasle. With obvious disapproval in his voice he explained, "When we pointed out to them that the name should be spelled R-A-S-L-E and not R-A-L-E, they told us that it's written R-A-L-E in some book they were using and so that was the way it was going to be on the sign!"

"That was my decision" Joy Hikel explained when I asked her about this spelling:

> "I take it from the oldest, that was what I did, I took it from the oldest. No, […] that might not even be right, I think that might be from a letter he signed to his brother. I'm thinking that that might be it. Anyway it was an old one and I thought it was more authentic than the one with the 's.' 'Cause it's how he signed his name. Yea, I knew there was a reason […] 'cause that's the oldest."

When deciding how to create and represent history for the public, Hikel had to weigh different engagements with history and enactments of place against one another. In this instance, she chose the orthography in "some history book" over that of local memory and meaning as the most "authentic," defining authentic as a combination of

the oldest document and one which she understood to be 'from the source.'[203] Her response indicates that, from her perspective at least, recorded history is a more important source of information than local knowledge for a public history project such as this one.

For townspeople on the other hand, as I discussed at length in Chapter 3, the spelling "Rasle" signifies a shared history and connection to memories of place. Its presence has long been a part of the town's landscape, appearing in place names such as Father Rasle Road and the Sebastian Rasle School, as well as the annual Father Rasle Days festival.[204] This spelling is so locally important that the spelling "Rale" on the new monuments has generated disapproval from some locals, especially local Catholics. Regardless of how the Jesuit missionary actually spelled his own name or where the various different spellings originated, the spelling signifies claims about local belonging and the legitimacy of knowledge.[205] In the case of the monuments, Hikel took the national place- and knowledge-making to be more official or authentic

[203] See chapter 2 for a discussion of debates among historians about the spelling of Rasle's name and its significance.
[204] The presentation of the Jesuit's name in the new monuments is also a departure from the 1833 monument to the Jesuit, on which his name appears: Sebastian Rasles on the Latin panel and Sebastian Rasle on the English.
[205] This approach parallels the way that early Maine historian James Phinney Baxter's declaration that his spelling is the most accurate is also a claim about the validity of his own production of historical knowledge vis-à-vis that of other historians, as I discussed in Chapter 2.

knowledge thus overpowering local claims to place- and knowledge-making.[206]

The archaeological aspects of the monuments also declare the presence of the nation via the State of Maine in this locally important place:

> SIGNIFICANT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS REMAIN AT THIS SITE DESPITE LOOTING EARLY IN THE 20TH CENTURY. MANY ARTIFACTS HAVE SINCE BEEN DONATED TO THE MAINE STATE MUSEUM. THE MAINE HISTORIC PRESERVATION COMMISSION HOLDS A CONSERVATION EASEMENT IN PERPETUITY OVER THIS SITE AND RESTRICTS ANY ACTIVITY INCONSISTANT [sic] WITH THE PRESERVATION OF THIS PROPERTY

Taken alongside the signs posted to trees that describe penalties for ground disturbance, this sign asserts that the site is important to and protected by the State of Maine through its archaeological past and future potential. The sign warns visitors against "looting" while subtly condemning those who have "looted" in the past. In so doing, it condemns local people's fond memories and stories about hunting for relics.[207] Altogether, the new signage undermines the site's local importance and the folk claims on which this importance is based in favor of its importance to national historical narratives that are supported by archaeology and nationalist histories.

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[206] How the monuments were placed may also indicate that for Hikel the enactment of this place as nationally significant is more important to the Pines Restoration Project than its local enactment. As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, when the first monument to Rasle was placed in 1833, people from Boston as well as representatives from Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, and other Indians (presumably Norridgewocks attended), gathered together for the occasion: "A large concourse of people, estimated at three thousand, assembled to witness the ceremony of the dedication" (Allen 1849: 47, see also Francis 1906; Hanson 1845). There was no such ceremony or gathering at the erection of the new sign-monuments in 2011. This might indicate that part of the work of the first monument was signifying relationships between peoples vis-à-vis their connections to the place, to history, and to the Jesuit missionary in 1833, whereas the goals of the new monuments have little to do with relationships between people and more to do with using the history to cement the "national" to the local in this place where local and national histories have been worked out in various ways over the years.

[207] For more information on how locals produce a shared sense of belonging with these stories, see Chapter 2

"The signage […] minimalizes the Norridgewock community and the history of the village and massacre that took place there."

Many Wabanaki peoples who maintain strong connections to Nanrantsouak are critical of the new monuments and their potential to undermine ongoing Wabanaki relationships with this place and perpetuate the narratives that erase these continued relationships. This fear was sparked when the project was announced in The Morning Sentinel and staff writer Erin Rhoda described the Pines as "the site of one of the largest slaughters of native [sic] Americans in Maine." She elaborated that it was located "near where the Norridgewock Indians, a band of the Abenaki tribe, were massacred by the English in 1724. The conflict, pitting the French and Abenakis against the English, *marked the end of the tribe in the area*" (Rhoda 2010, emphasis mine). While it is historically accurate that the attack on Norridgewock is the largest massacre to occur within the borders of what is now the State of Maine, the structure of Rhoda's description may imply to most uniformed readers that all of the villagers were killed in this attack. Furthermore, it reinforces the story that the 1724 attack was the end of the Norridgewock as a people and political entity, which is not supported by the documentary record (see Chapter 2).

Given these transgressions and Hikel's stated goal of teaching people about the area's significance, Wabanaki people justifiably feared that the project would continue the erasure trope that informs both the majority of historical narratives and local folk knowledge about Norridgewock village.[208] The crux of the issue was the town's lack of collaboration or consultation with Wabanaki historians and knowledge keepers.

[208] Indeed, it was the very histories of erasure from the 1800s, the same era of historical production that Jean O'Brien (2006, 2010) has analyzed, that were used as research documentation for the production of the monuments.

Because tribal officials, knowledge keepers, and descendant families were not involved in the planning process, they had no say in how (or whether) stories of this place were presented to the public. As one of the organizers of the annual Nanrantsouak memorial gathering wrote in an email to MITSC officials, Nanrantsouak descendants, and others on October 1, 2010:

> "As they are planning to install signs/kiosks with historical information they really need to consult with tribal or knowledgeable Native historians as they will be telling 'our' story. If the newspaper article is any indication of what will be on the 'signs' they really need to be better educated on the history and especially the wording/language they use. I received an email from a descendant of Norridgewock who's [sic] mother, another descendant, was in tears over the article. Apparently they don't even understand that they are 'talking' about a living people whose ancestors survived the tragic events at this community."

While Hikel told me that she had originally envisioned "the tribes being a big participant, because the site was so precious to them" (Hikel, Interview, 2013), her attempts to include the tribes show that her assumptions about the end of the Norridgewock people framed how she wanted to incorporate their descendants.

After Hikel first met with Dr. Arthur Spiess at MHPC to discuss the history project she envisioned and her intention to apply for the trail improvement grant, Spiess encouraged her to get in touch with Donald Soctomah, the Passamaquoddy Tribal Representative to the Maine State Legislature at the time, and a descendant of Norridgewock survivors (see Chapter 1). Hikel sent an email to Donald Soctomah dated Sept 23, 2009, about two months before she submitted the grant proposal, and requested Donald's input on the project:

> "Dear Representative Soctomah,
>
> Dr. Arthur Spiess gave me your contact information for tribal input on a

> project I am working on for a Recreational Trails grant. I am soliciting your assistance because I want to "get it right" for any descendants with family ties to the Old Pines site.
>
> I would like to highlight the Abenaki history in developing both educational sign materials and some type of monument to honor the original inhabitants. I believe preservation of the area will be enhanced by highlighting the historic significance of the site. When the project is completed, I am hoping that any visitor will feel the same reverence as I do when I am there.
>
> Please let me know your thoughts. I will be happy to meet with you anytime, at your convenience, and would be delighted to walk through the Pines with you.
>
> Thank you for any assistance you may provide."

In this email, Hikel acknowledged that there may be descendants who have ties to "the Old Point site," but she framed her inquiry as a request for input on presenting and preserving *the past*[209] of Old Point, i.e. the mission village. In this sense, Hikel has already made some decisions about how the project would enact the Pines as a site where history *happened*, and how Wabanaki people might be incorporated into that framework. This implies that descendants would not have control over what kind of project was being developed or even whether a public history project would be best for this place at all. Instead, Hikel's appeal to Donald was a request for consultation on how to make the project "appropriate," and to fit tribal voices within a framework that she had already envisioned. This created from the outset a particular kind of relationship wherein the project belonged squarely in her (or the town of Madison's) control, and may have precluded other possible approaches such as a mutually engaged collaboration where the parameters of the project could be worked out in conversation with tribal communities.

[209] Similarly, in her email to Spiess she stated, "I can assure you that the historic significance of the site will be a top consideration."

Hikel's email reveals underlying assumptions about who has control over the Pines and its history. While Hikel acknowledged that she needed approval from the MHPC because of the site's archaeological significance and protections,[210] she did not see it as necessary to have permission from or to collaborate with Wabanaki peoples in Maine. The state-sanctioned legal fact of property ownership gives the town of Madison the "right" to do this kind of project, although within the boundaries of federal and state legal and conservation regulations (per MHPC's conservation easement over the National Historic Landmark property). Under this framework of legal rights, including indigenous voices becomes a favor to the tribes rather than part of a true collaborative effort.[211] When Hikel did not receive a swift response to her email from Donald Soctomah,[212] she ended her attempt to "include the tribes" and instead chose to continue with the project without his or any other Wabanaki input.[213]

It was not until the newspaper article with which I opened this chapter sparked conversations among Norridgewock descendants, Wabanaki community members, and memorial participants a year later that tribal representatives became involved in the

[210] This is further evidenced in the grants application which requires statements about any regulations regarding conservation and preservation on the properties and proof that these regulations were followed. In the case of the Pines, this included vetting through MHPC and other permitting processes.
[211] Donald explained to me that because the Pines project had received federal funding, the town should have been required to consult with the tribes from the beginning. Upon further investigation, however, he found that the grant monies had been distributed through what he called "the back door," a multi-step process that allowed the town to get away with pursuing the project without consulting with Maine tribes. While he and Bonnie Newscom were not able to fix this problem for this particular project, this controversy did reveal the loophole, and they were able to correct this problem for future projects.
[212] While I do not know the specific circumstances of these emails, it seems unlikely that Donald Soctomah would have intentionally ignored Hikel's emails. However, as a tribal representative, historian for the Passamaquoddy, and a man with a large family, Soctomah could have easily missed an email or filed it among projects that were not as pressing as some of the major struggles the tribes face in their relations with the State of Maine.
[213] During our interview, Hikel stated that she sent Donald Soctomah a second email requesting his input on the project. This email is not among the correspondence or other documentation of the Pines Project records at the town office. She did not reach out to other Wabanaki officials or individuals.

project. By then the project was already well underway. In response to these concerns, on Sept 30, 2010, the President of the Board of Directors of Gedakina, Inc, sent an email to the Madison Town Manager, Norman Dean, informing him that descendants of Nanrantsouak and tribal officials should have been contacted about the project in advance. In this email, he also requested that "Native American academic and community historians preview any written material before it is posted on monuments or public spaces to ensure its accuracy and appropriateness" and offered a list of contacts of individuals who could perform this preview.

During the October 2010 meeting of the Maine Indian Tribal-State Commission (MITSC[214]), Penobscot representative John Banks presented the concerns to the other members of the commission, specifically highlighting the newspaper article's inaccurate implication that the Norridgewock people had been wiped out (and the possible public implications of this fallacy); the concern that the project in Madison would disturb the ground where ancestors are interred; and the overarching problem that there had been no tribal consultation for this project (MITSC minutes, Oct 2010). Following the MITSC meeting in October, MITSC officials, the Penobscot Cultural Preservation Officer, and others wrote to Madison Town Manager Norman Dean outlining their concerns and putting pressure on the town to respond:

> "we feel that it is important that we put an end to this "vanishing indian" mythology that the local public is continually perpetuating through these kinds of historical monumentalizing activities and projects" (Bonnie Newscom, Penobscot Cultural Preservation Director, Sept 2010).

[214] MITSC was created as part of the Maine Indian Land Claims Settlement Act of 1980. It is a tribal-state commission made up of representatives from the Maine Indian Tribes and the State of Maine. It is intended to work as a mediating board between the tribes and the state and to deal with any issues, concerns, or ambiguities that arise in relation to the Land Claims Settlement Act.

Following this outreach, Hikel met with two tribal representatives, Donald Soctomah and Bonnie Newscom. Together they toured the Pines and discussed the project.[215]

According to Donald, during this meeting he and Bonnie tried to impress upon "the townspeople" that it was important for them to do their project in a way that was "respectful." He said, they should have consulted with the tribal communities in the first place, but since the tribes could not force that issue, they could at least push for a certain level of respect. He clarified that this respect is important because people were born there, they lived out their lives there, they died there, and were buried there.

The meeting between the tribal officials and Hikel did not significantly alter the nearly-complete project.[216] Bonnie Newscom offered Spiess some edits to the historical signs that he was drafting, such as requesting that he remove the description of Wabanaki activities as: "hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plant food" because it "fails to capture the breadth of human experience" in this place. She also requested that he change how the signs were referring to the village: "I wouldn't call it Father Rasle's village. It implies superiority over and ownership of the people there. Maybe

[215] Hikel described this sequence of events as follows: "I had gotten in touch with Don…Soctomah, […] he was actually the Native representative at the legislature at the time. And I emailed him a nice long letter saying, 'before I get too deep in this, I want all your input because I know it's such a, you know, good site for your history,' And I never heard back from him. And I sent a subsequent email, when I was getting deeper, and said 'hey, hey, remember when…' and still never heard back from him. Well in the meantime I just decided that I would do the research that I could, to get, you know, the basic of the history here, without insulting anybody. Which was hard. But, an article came out in the newspaper, and then low and behold, I got this email put on my desk from my boss at the time, Norman Dean, and he said, 'you've upset the tribal people.' and I said, 'how could I have done that, they never even got back to me' and he said, 'well here's a letter.' So it was from the Indian commission of the State of Maine with complaints about me doing the project without contacting the tribes, which I, forwarded him the two emails to Soctomah. And then, by golly, I got a call from Soctomah, and he and a lady, can't remember her name, came down from Penobscot, and we took a tour" (Hikel, Sept 25, 2013).

[216] As she completed the project, Hikel did not maintain communication with Donald or Bonnie to update them on its progress. When I spoke with him about it a few years later, Donald was not confident that the "townspeople," had taken into account what he and Bonnie had to say about the project. He told me that he felt they needed to make another visit to see what the town eventually ended up doing. After this meeting I sent Donald photos of the monuments for his records.

you could use the Old Point Mission instead" and suggested he include that it was "part of the French effort to convert Wabanaki people to catholicism."

While Spiess wrote in a letter to Hikel that he found Bonnie's suggestions to be "very constructive comments," Hikel resisted Bonnie's request that they change "Abenaki" to Wabanaki throughout the panels, revealing underlying tensions related to the politics of historical knowledge about the Pines:

> "The thing that really was weird to me was how adamant they were, even though the research that I had done, even though, going back to Father Rasle's dictionary and going a little bit further than most people would, Gutenburg, you know, unpublished and published stuff, that they didn't want me to use the word Abenaki. They wanted to use Wabanaki. […] and I thought that it was a really weird thing because, the tribe had been so, disintegrated, that I would have thought that keeping the Abenaki name would have been of utmost importance to them. Rather than saying, oh no, this is Wabanaki. Now Wabanaki, in my information, was the whole eastern tribe. Abenaki, according to Rasle, was the division, was the, uh, sublet. […] So, I mean, I didn't want to totally ex-out the word Abenaki from here because it was *so* in the history, it was *so* in the dictionary, it was *so* in what they called themselves to Rasle, that I couldn't do that, so I did a little bit of both, but (chuckle) I couldn't understand that from the Natives' perspective, especially because the tribe had been wiped out. The survivors, I guess, went to Canada."

Instead of working to understand why the distinction between "Wabanaki" and "Abenaki" might be important for Wabanaki peoples, Hikel dismissed it as not historically accurate. Her construction of "Wabanaki" as a deviation from "the history," lead her to interpret the change to Wabanaki as disrespectful to the "Abenaki" tribe that was wiped out or "disintegrated" after the 1724 attack.

By "history" Hikel referred not to documentation of the past, but to the historiography from the 19th century discussed above. Given the long history of systematic erasure narratives in early New England historiography, and the public

accessibility of these narratives, they exert disproportionate influence on how the public understands history. This is exacerbated by the fact that newer critiques and correctives of these materials (see Ghere 1988, 1993, 1997; Baker and Reid 2004) are less accessible outside of academic circles. The Pines public history project might therefore be understood as a reenactment of indigenous erasure. This construction allowed Hikel to acknowledge that people survived the massacre without jeopardizing the common-place erasure narrative that the tribe was wiped out.

In contrast, the use of the word "Wabanaki" can potentially counter this erasure narrative. As an inclusive term, Wabanaki can refer to any of the Norridgewock community's relations at any point in time. Thus, Wabanaki can include present-day and future descendants of the Norridgewock peoples who have since become Abenaki, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, etc. This term allows for narratives and enactments of place that recognize both the violence against Wabanaki peoples at Nanrantsouak as well the continuation of those peoples. By insisting that the new monuments use "Wabanaki," Bonnie Newscom and Donald Soctomah acknowledged simultaneously the broad network of Wabanaki relations in which the Nanrantsouak community was historically embedded *and* the contemporary Nanrantsouak descendant community that continues all across Wabanaki country and is not confined to any particular tribe.[217] In so doing, they located critical source of history in continuing community connections, memories, and stories. In contrast, Hikel insisted that the historical record, in this case represented by old local histories, was the most important source of legitimate information.

[217] This is akin to my own reasoning for using "Wabanaki" throughout this dissertation.

These differences in sources and underlying assumptions also lead to differences in understandings of what it means to "respect" the Pines and its history. Because Bonnie and Donald take as foundational knowledge that the people and memory of Nanrantsouak continued beyond the 1724 attack, they felt it was important for the signage to recognize the relationship that Wabanaki tribes and Nanrantsouak descendants had and continue to have with the land of which the Pines is part. By contrast, Hikel assumed that the Norridgewock tribe was wiped out, so she felt it was important to memorialize them and present their history so that visitors can directly connect the Pines to historical narratives that they, themselves, can read. When asked to alter how she chose to represent Wabanaki history, she not only resisted but proclaimed that the request ran directly counter to her expectations, given what she knew about the history.

In the end, Hikel did include Bonnie and Donald's words by etching them in stone on the first monument that visitors are intended to encounter, at the beginning of the main path into the Pines, closest to the road. It reads:

KIHCITOMITAHOTOMONIYA
(RESPECT THIS PLACE)
THE LAND YOU WALK UPON HAS BEEN A SPECIAL PLACE TO WABANAKI PEOPLE FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS. A PLACE WHERE CHILDREN WERE BORN AND PLAYED. A PLACE WHERE ELDERS LIVED THEIR LIVES. WALK IN RESPECT ON THIS
LAND SO OVER THE NEXT THOUSAND YEARS YOUR DESCENDANTS WILL ENJOY THE BEAUTIES AROUND YOU.
DONALD SOCTOMAH, A DESCENDANT OF THE ORIGINAL DWELLERS HERE
AND BONNIE NEWSCOM OF THE PENOBSCOT NATION

Here Hikel has attempted to convey Donald and Bonnie's words about the importance of respecting this place and its long history as a place where people lived.

Yet, as noted above, it is not clear that this monument conveys precisely what they meant by "respect this place," to all visitors, especially visitors who, like Hikel, do not have a clear sense of how Wabanaki peoples continue to relate to it. Furthermore, given that the other historical signage privileges archaeological and early Euro-American historiographic understandings of the Pines and the Old Point mission and directs visitors to seek out these histories, Hikel may have set up other visitors to privilege the same historical texts she did and therefore continue to assume the historical "fact" of Indian erasure.

As Jean O'Brien has pointed out, public history projects such as this one create the possibility of Indian people to be simultaneously erased and present (2010). Despite that the wording of this sign leaves space for the possibility of Wabanaki continuity, as it identifies Donald as a descendant and states that the land *has been* a special place, rather than *was*, it is still predicated on and perpetuates a Wabanaki erasure narrative. First the temporal construction of Wabanaki lives begins with children who were born and played and ends with elders who lived their lives, all in the past-tense. There is no story after that, only a call for visitors to respect the land. Taken in tandem with indicators on the historical signs that the Norridgewock people died or left after 1724, this signals an end-moment of Wabanaki life in and connection to this place. The separation between "Wabanaki People" in the first part and "you," the visitor, in the second implies that visitors to this site are presumably not Wabanaki people. Furthermore, the sign implies a replacement narrative as well - this is a place that *was* special to Wabanaki people for thousands of years *in the past* and now it can be special for you and your descendants for the thousands of years *in the future.*

Finally, these words appear to have either come from or been endorsed by actual Wabanaki people. While this could be read as a way to include Wabanaki voices in this project, I see it differently. Given how the monuments are informed by and perpetuate Wabanaki erasure and replacement narratives, by including Donald and Bonnie the monuments serve to narrate and legitimize the claim that Wabanaki people are gone from this place and have been replaced by "your descendants,"[218] a claim which given both Donald and Bonnie's dedication to their communities and to the living memory of Nanrantsouak, could not be further from the truth.

When read in the context of the other historical monuments, particularly the spatial order in which visitors are intended to encounter them, it is even more apparent that the monuments reproduce Wabanaki erasure narratives. Following the path into the picnic area of the Pines from the Kihcitomitahotomoniya sign, visitors next encounter the two largest signs, introduced above, which contain the bulk of the project's historical narrative. The first of the two is a narrative of 6000 years of ancient indigenous inhabitance "before the Kennebec river [sic] became an international boundary between New England and French Acadia" followed by a summary of the history of the mission village. The historical summary concludes with a brief acknowledgment of the warfare that led to the death of the missionary and many Indians, and notes that the survivors fled to "the St. Lawrence in Quebec."

The second large sign presents a moment during the more recent history of the American Revolutionary War, when Benedict Arnold and his men spent six days at this site during their march against the English at Quebec. The sign informs visitors

[218] Given this construction, the monuments put Donald and Bonnie in the same role as the elderly woman in Whittier's *Last of the Norridgewocks* poem discussed in chapter 2.

that Arnold acknowledged the Indian history of this site in his journal: “Here is some small vestiges left of an Indian town…the foundation of an old church and altar.” It then offers a brief summary highlighting some of the hardships of the now-famous ill-fated march through the wilderness to Quebec, “where this same wilderness had sustained life for many generations of wabanake [sic] people.”

Taken together, the visual orientation and presentation of history on these signs places Wabanaki peoples in the distant past and narrates the stages of their replacement by modern village settlement and warfare, leaving naught but a scarce trace or vestige of their presence by the time of the American Revolutionary War and the birth of the US Nation. There is nothing on the monuments to suggest to visitors that Norridgewock people continued to live in the area after the 1724 attack on the village or that they remained an important political force in the Kennebec Valley throughout the years leading up to the Revolutionary War; that Arnold himself had guides who likely were Norridgewocks or Norridgewock descendants; or that the site continues to be important to the descendants of Nanrantsouak across a network of tribal, inter-tribal, and non-tribal families and allies today. Instead, the historical signs end by both firmly locating indigenous people in the past and implying that this (pre)history has become part of American national history. Furthermore, visually these two monuments equate *6000 years* of indigenous history with *six days* of American national history, giving the two stories roughly equal space. This history is then concluded with a reminder that this is a National Historic Landmark and a quote from well-known American conservationist and novelist:

EVENTUALLY ALL THINGS MERGE INTO ONE AND A RIVER RUNS THROUGH IT.
- NORMAN MCLEAN[219]

This last serves as a subtle denial of the multiplicity of historical narratives and belongings grounded in this site. Instead it suggests a coming together of all distinctions, perhaps indexing the notion of the American "melting pot." Read within the larger context of the monument project and its history, the project dismisses alternative, multiple, and overlapping histories and relationships to the Pines and posits nationalist historical practices of place-making as the most authentic and true way of interacting with and knowing the site. This construction requires that other ways of engaging the site must be adjusted to fit with these practices if they are to be included at all. The Pines Restoration Project then takes this production of history and knowledge and literally stakes it to the ground, metaphorically representing it as the outcome of all things merging into one.

PART III. Nature, Restoration, and Environmentalism

A TOUCH OF NATURE MAKES THE WHOLE WORLD KIN
-Shakespeare

Figure 18: The Pines in "disrepair." Madison, Maine. July 2010. Image courtesy Kailey Smith.

When I asked Hikel how the Pines project got started, she responded with her first visit to the Pines: "When I got here I was like, 'Oh my god.' It hadn't been cut for years, just ugh, garbage and everything." She described

[219] [sic] Maclean

the Pines as a mess that was uncared-for and in "disrepair." She stated that this was in her mind when she came across the opportunity to apply for a "trail improvement grant" that could help "clean up" the site.

Figure 19: The Pines "Restoration." Madison, Maine Sept. 2010. Photo by the author.

The "restoration" was funded by a grant from the U.S. Department of Transportation through the Maine Bureau of Parks and Lands. One her goals for the Pines Restoration Project was to draw people to the site, but in order to do this the "nature" at the site first had to be restored or "mended" as Erin Rhoda put it in the article for the Morning Sentinel (2010). Removing the underbrush, leveling the ground, and cutting trees to create a clear visible sight-line to the river from the picnic area was construed as cleaning up and caring for nature in this place.

Figure 20: New walking bridge to the old spring. Eroded muddy path visible to the right. The Pines. Madison, ME. August 2013. Photo by the author.

In addition to the clean-up, Hikel arranged for foot-bridges and steps to be built on the trail leading down to the old spring. In the proposal for the trail improvement grant, Hikel wrote that by keeping people off of the riverbank, the bridges would help protect the bank from any further erosion. She also designed a series of sign-

monuments that include directions such as: PLEASE DO NOT LITTER and NO MOTORIZED VEHICLES, which were placed alongside the historical signage to shape how visitors interact with and care for the natural area at the Pines. In the project proposal, Hikel argued that these signs would help support the preservation of the site, as required by the MHPC, even as the project increased its recreational use. This was especially important given the long history of littering and vandalism here.

As part of the environmental theme of the Pines Restoration Project, Hikel also designed signs to impress upon visitors certain ideas about the value of what nature can do for them, using the words of quintessentially American writers and thinkers who are or have inspired famous American conservationists and preservationists[220] as well as contemporary environmentalists:

THOSE WHO CONTEMPLATE THE BEAUTY OF THE EARTH FIND RESERVES OF STRENGTH THAT WILL ENDURE AS LONG AS LIFE LASTS.
-RACHEL CARSON

IN EVERY WALK WITH NATURE ONE RECEIVES FAR MORE THAN HE SEEKS.
-JOHN MUIR

EVENTUALLY ALL THINGS MERGE INTO ONE, AND A RIVER RUNS THROUGH IT.
-NORMAN MCLEAN[221]

IN WILDERNESS[222] IS THE PRESERVATION OF THE WORLD.
-THOREAU

The presence of these American writers ties the Pines to American nationalist cultural ideals about the role of nature and natural beauty in American lives. These

[220] After the civil war, American ideas about the wilderness and the need to protect it became deeply entangled with ideas of American nationalism: "the first national parks were place where summer pilgrims could go to share their national identity and an appreciation for natural beauty" (Spence 1999: 4). In this time period, nature became not only distinct from civilization and humans, but also threatened by them and in need of preservation for the good of the world and of humanity.
[221] [sic] Maclean
[222] [sic] Thoreau actually wrote "Wildness." This is commonly misquoted (see Spence 1999).

ideas about nature and humans' relationship to it has roots in European and American romantic thought, the "sublime," wherein humans can have a divine experience in the solemn quiet and vastness of nature. From this epistemological stance, an experience with nature is something outside of ordinary civilized life, but still a very individual and internal experience: You leave the ordinary to enter into nature and in doing so you are able to search deep inside yourself and contemplate and develop your own morality. From this perspective, nature also becomes a place for recreation and with that a luxury for those individuals and families who can afford the time and money to participate in recreation.

The belief that nature is a place where humans visit, not a place where humans belong is imperative to understanding the political effects of Hikel's Pines Restoration Project. Although not particularly "historical," the new nature-monuments are grounded in an American historical and philosophical tradition that embeds these ideas about "nature" and American nationalism in histories of indigenous dispossession.[223] As Mark David Spence argues, "uninhabited wilderness had to be created before it could be preserved" (1999: 4) in the US, because indigenous peoples inhabited the land and maintained complex social relationships with it. By defining the historical moment of Wabanaki death or exodus in 1724, the historical monuments discussed in the previous section make it possible for this place to become a "natural area" in the first place - it is natural in part because humans no longer live here, they only visit.

[223] Some of the early environmental conservationists and preservationists quoted in the new monuments were directly involved in advocating for Indian people's removal from their homelands to "protect" the beauty of untouched nature for future generations. For example, John Muir wrote that the Indians at Yosemite "seemed [to have] no right place in the landscape" and stated that he "could not feel the 'solemn calm' of wilderness when he was in their presence" (Muir quoted in Spence 1999: 109).

The Pines fits well within American cultural ideas that natural places, such as parks, are places that should be preserved for recreation and/or relaxation. While not exactly a municipal, state, or national park, the Pines is under both the protection of the National Park Service and the Maine Historic Preservation Commission which holds a conservation easement in perpetuity over the site. It is located just on the outskirts of town and away from the main highway. It is wooded and sits atop the bank overlooking the river where visitors can regularly spot eagles and loons. It has long been used as a convenient "get-away" from town, a place to sit outside with family, to watch the birds, to swim in the river.

In her interview about the project for the Morning Sentinel, "Hikel said cleaning up the area will […] open the area to community members for picnics and gatherings" (Rhoda 2010). She also noted that it would improve fly fishermen's access to the renowned fishing on this stretch of the Kennebec. In addition to presenting the Pines as a nationally significant place, The Pines Restoration Project, then, enacts the Pines as a place of recreation. Her vision, as expressed in the Shakespeare quote she included on one of the new monuments along the river trail included above, was that if properly cared for, this place could bring people together.

One of the assumptions underlying the Pines Restoration project was that locals stopped gathering at the Pines because no one was properly caring for picnic

area.[224] As Jim Elias stated for the newspaper, “It will take time for people to start coming back, but the evolution process will take place naturally, and they'll feel comfortable here because it's cleaned up” (Rhoda 2010). The idea was that if the town restored the inviting, manicured, park-like aesthetic of the picnic area, the Pines would once again draw family gatherings and school outings.

For some locals, this was a great idea. As my high school classmate Sarah expressed to me in 2012, “it looks so great down there!” She was happy the town had finally cleaned up the Pines and was looking forward to bringing her own family there for cookouts. Her only hope was that the town was actually going to commit to keeping it nice from now on, especially given how much people litter there: “people are so awful and disrespectful; it will be nice if the town can keep the place clean.” Similarly, another classmate, Cassidy, told me that the Pines was her favorite place and she was happy to hear that someone would be taking care of it.

Yet, while the Maine conservation corps and volunteers from the Maine highway department did complete the “clean up” of the site in 2010, other aspects of restoring the picnic area were never completed. The original plans and budget for the project included replacing the picnic tables and fireplaces while adding granite trash

[224] There is also no clear evidence to support the assumption that the state of the picnic area itself impacted local gathering practices there. Instead it seems likely that there are a number of factors including changes in social norms around teenage independence, partying, and experimenting; changes in policing (particularly of minors and underage drinking); and shifts in family social life that impacted people’s use of the area. Some of these shifts in family life are related to when and why families picnicked at the Pines, as they shared in their remembered stories in chapter 2. For instance, many family picnics at the Pines took place as reunions, when family members came to visit from the southern New England states where they had moved to find work. A generation or two later, however, families may be less connected to one another, having lived apart for a longer time. Or their other family members who they were visiting in Maine may have died or moved elsewhere. Or they may not have the money to visit with such frequency. Some of these changing relationships may have led to less strong ties to their Madison roots and with that fewer or no reasons to return to Madison to visit and picnic at the Pines.

receptacles. With the anticipated increase in recreational use of the site, Hikel wrote in her proposal that the town of Madison was committing to the upkeep of the picnic area, including trash removal and increased police patrol.[225] In the end, only one new picnic table was added at the new wheelchair accessible picnic spot. They also did not replace or repair the crumbling fire pits, which have been without cooking grates for as long as I can remember. Furthermore, trash receptacles were never added[226] and the site continues to be a dumping spot, especially for empty beer cans thrown out of passing cars or piled into the empty fire pits.[227] Finally, while the town has occasionally done some maintenance since the initial cutting in 2010, it has not succeeded in regularly upkeep of the site or the walking trail as Hikel laid out in her grant proposal. As Sarah described via her Facebook page in August 2016,

> Took the kids to the pines this afternoon. We have always loved walking down the trail and playing in the water. Today however was not what we expected. The trail was overgrown with lack of use but we persevered. [We] got to the river and I thought letting the kids cool off would be nice. But the adventure was short lived. Within ten minutes Beverly had plucked two pieces of glass out of the water. The only alternative was to let them play on the cigarette covered shore.

"Isn't that foolish, waste all that money on this?"

One sunny summer afternoon as I was walking down the river trail at the

[225] I have found no information about whether or not police patrols of the area increased initially. However, following the closure of Madison Paper Mill in 2016, the Madison police force was disbanded. The area is now covered by the county sheriff's office and patrolling in general has decreased.

[226] The fact that these replacements were not made does raise questions about the grant budget. According to the project documentation at the Madison Town Office, these granite picnic tables, fire pits, and trash receptacles were a sizeable amount of the budget, especially given that much of the cleanup work was done by volunteers. It is unclear where this money went given that these objects were never placed.

[227] This second act of littering suggests that some people might, in fact, use a trash receptacle, given that they are carefully placing their trash inside a container of sorts rather than tossing it about.

Pines, I stopped to chat with an older man who was walking his very friendly lab-mix dog. I had seen his truck parked on the north end of the picnic area when I parked there myself. I told him I was from town and came here often to walk my own dog and he responded that he was from Anson, the town on the other side of the river and that he also came here regularly to walk his dog. "What do you think of these new signs they put up?" I asked him. He made a face that was full of disapproval, "isn't that foolish" he said, "waste all that money on this? I saw it in the paper. I don't understand what they needed twenty-six thousand dollars for" he gestures around. "And what with everything goin' to hell around here, shuttin' down and stuff, you think they could've used that money for something more useful."

Madison is a small, once-booming mill town that has been experiencing a period of economic hardship for several years. As one of the participants in the Nanrantsouak gathering who is not from Maine put it, "every year I go there it seems another business has closed." Indeed, businesses have long been struggling and the many vacant shop windows along Main Street attest to these hardships. By 2010, the pulp and paper industry had been suffering all over the US and several Maine paper mills had closed in the 2000s. Madison Paper Industries, which had long been the number one employer and the backbone of the local economy had fared well at first, but by 2010 orders were down and workers were receiving cuts to their bonus pay. The community feared what would happen if the mill shut down.[228]

This is the context Joy Hikel entered when she was hired as Madison's

[228] The mill was dramatically devalued in 2014 and in May of 2016 it closed for good, putting over 200 people out of work (a significant number in a town with a population of less than 4,000). Most of those who lost their jobs were from Madison and many had worked at the mill for their entire careers.

economic development specialist. Because of this, she and the Pines Restoration Project received criticism for spending time and money on the Pines when many locals felt that they needed viable and lasting economic opportunity in Madison. While the grant that Hikel received for her project was specifically for trail improvement and could not have been used for any other kind of economic development, Madison contributed approximately $6,000 to meet the grant's matching funds requirement. This not only raised questions about municipal spending during times of hardship, but also about how Hikel, as the town's economic development specialist, spent her time. As one of the participants in the Nanrantsouak gathering said in response to the newspaper article, "the town really needs to be asking why their economic development specialist is spending all her time reading dusty old history books."

While Hikel may have seen herself as raising the visibility of the Pines as a natural and cultural resource and creating opportunities for education, community-building, and revering "nature," all for the benefit of the Madison community, many people felt that the economic development director needed to focus her time and energy on more lucrative endeavors. It is true that tourism and service industry is one strategy many failing mill towns have pursued to rebuild their economies. But, while the trail improvement and the concurrent upsurge of visibility in outfitters magazines of the stretch of the Kennebec River where the Pines is located has increased some traffic from fly fishermen, the Pines is not the kind of place that would draw a crowd that could contribute to the economic well-being of the town. If anything, the Pines could draw a local crowd, but if locals do not have the income or the leisure time that makes it possible, they are unlikely to spend much time with history books or having

picnics with their families at the Pines. Hikel's environmentalist ideals were largely incompatible with Madison locals' economic realities.

"the best thing they can do to care for this land is to let it be!"

At the first Nanrantsouak memorial gathering after the "facelift" landscaping work had been completed, Judy, an elder of French-Abenaki descent who is also an ethnobotanist, expressed her surprise and distress over the transformation. All of the lush green underbrush was gone and the site looked barren. When I explained to her that part of the town's Restoration project was to clear the unsightly brush in order to "clean" up the site, she looked at me in disbelief. "Are you kidding me?!" she said. She then explained how she saw this to be precisely the opposite of "caring" for the land at this place:

> "It is important that we protect the next generation of life here. These trees are old. There are holes in the branches so the sun touches the ground, this is why the youth are growing here. It's so important that they grow here so that when these trees die, there will be a next generation here. If they keep cutting down the new trees, eventually there won't be anything at all!"

From this perspective, letting the brush grow is caring for the land. Judy's words paralleled those of another attendee at the gathering, "the best they can do to care for this land is to let it be!"

Hikel, however, interpreted the unsightly state of the Pines undergrowth as inaction on the part of Wabanaki peoples who she thought "weren't really advocating much for the site." She told me, "I was amazed to know that they had come down here […] every year, but never wanted to clean up the site, never wanted to [fix] it, so [they] accepted it in a disrepair." Because Wabanaki peoples were not living up to her

expectations of what it means to care for the land, i.e. keeping the brush clear, she felt they were not "taking care" of it at all.[229]

Hikel's narrow environmentalist position overlooked how Wabanaki people continue to relate to and care for this place by relying upon and reinforcing both the trope of the ecologically noble Indian and the trope of the vanishing Indian. This is exemplified in how she includes Wabanaki people in her project as echoes of the past that speak to environmentalist sensibilities. For example, her portrayal of Wabanaki peoples' history in and relationship to this place:

> MAY YOUR VISIT ENCOURAGE FURTHER READING ABOUT THIS HISTORIC SITE TO DISCOVER KNOWLEDGE OF THE WABANAKI PEOPLE AND THEIR GREAT SKILLS AT PEACEFUL LIVING WITH WILD NATURE.

With this sign, Hikel depicted Wabanaki people as the ultimate environmentalists, skillfully able to live peacefully with "wild nature," while simultaneously being relegated to the past - present only in history books awaiting discovery by visitors to this "historic" place. It is within this vision of history and of nature that Indian people and pasts become manageable and into which they can be "included," as long as they fit the commonly imagined trope of the environmental or ecologically noble Indian, who exists only in the past.

From her perspective, Hikel believed that her project would help Wabanaki peoples, as she told the Morning Sentinel, "cleaning up the area will […] allow native Americans to perform rituals there" (Rhoda 2010). Yet, Wabanaki peoples had been gathering at the site of Nanrantsouak for generations, indeed millennia, and understand themselves to be caring for and restoring this place in a sense that is very different

[229] This perspective stands in spite of the fact that many of the Nanrantsouak descendants who visit the Pines, myself included, also pick up litter when we visit.

from Hikel's understanding. How "cleaning up" the site by cutting new growth brush and trees could "allow" indigenous peoples to "perform rituals there," is not at all clear, but her argument does other kinds of social and ideological work within a settler colonial frame that undermines Wabanaki survivance. This is the only place in the newspaper article or the monuments themselves that suggests continued indigenous connection to the site or its history. Thus, this "inclusion" narrative coincides with the "erasure narrative" and demonstrates one of the ways that indigenous presences can be made to coexist with indigenous erasure narratives without upsetting them.

First, while the Indians have disappeared in the historical narratives and both the newspaper article and monuments declare their end, the project is also faced with the reality of Wabanaki descendants of Norridgewock. Thus, it was necessary to deal with these remainders, the traces, as "matter out of place" and out of time. This is done in part through particular textual constructions that can "place" Indians in the present without upsetting their conceptual past-ness. The image of Native Americans performing "rituals" places indigenous continuity safely in this past by indexing ideas about primitive pre-modern traditionalism, righting to some extent the potential trouble of Indians existing beyond their assumed moment of erasure.

Wabanaki peoples' "environmentalism," however, looks quite different from Hikel's and is predicated on understandings of deep ancestral and ongoing relationship to land. As I discussed in Chapter 1, this understanding is expressed in the concept *tupqan* and the Corn Mother story. Stories are one of the ways that indigenous peoples maintain understandings of their place in the world (Basso 1996; Brooks 2008; Cruikshank 1990, 2000; Sarris 1993). Another set of stories that is important for

understanding Wabanaki philosophies about how humans should relate to and care for the land are the stories about "greed." For instance, in the stories about aglebemu (the giant frog), when aglebemu becomes greedy and hoards all the water for himself, he causes the lands to dry up and all of the plant and animal people who rely on the water to suffer and die. In these stories, a hero punishes this character and restores the water to its rightful balance.[230] These stories not only portray greed as dangerous, but they also imply that it is a moral obligation for the people to protect the land against these sorts of behaviors.[231]

This view deeply shaped Anglo-Wabanaki relations in the 17th and 18th century, and many of the wars were sparked in part by English land-use practices damaging what we would today call the land's ecology. As it often does, colonization went hand-in-hand with environmental degradation. The English's intensive land-use practices in New England resulted in mass deforestation and dramatically altered the landscape and food resources in the regions.[232] The colonial dams impeded the travel of fish and their land-use and harvesting practices deeply impacted game and other food sources. In other words, the English were acting very much like aglebemu and the Wabanaki had both a practical need and a moral obligation to stop them.

Nanrantsouak has long been a place from which Wabanaki peoples have

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[230] This description is drawn from the public storytelling performances by Roger Paul and Joseph and Jesse Bruchac.

[231] for a more in-depth discussion of how Wabanaki stories about greed shape networks of relations in New England, see Brooks 2008.

[232] As environmental historian William Cronon has shown, the English in New England were most interested in timber, whether it was the trade in pine trees for ship masts or for settling the land by cutting trees to clear fields and build homes and fences, and enjoying the high status symbol of keeping their homes very hot in the winter. To do all this they set up dams and sawmills on the rivers. They also netted fish in the waterways. This damaged the availability of food sources near the river and upriver in particular (Cronon 2003).

fought to protect the land from both European encroachments and also European land-use practices that they saw as damaging. Throughout the 1700s, Wabanaki appeals to the Massachusetts governor regularly included complaints and warnings about the damage that the English were doing to the land and game,[233] and each time war broke out, Wabanaki warriors destroyed English dams and saw mills in Maine. This was one way in which Wabanaki peoples cared for the land and for their communities. Wabanaki peoples, and descendants of Nanrantsouak survivors, have continued to care for the land into the present in many ways, by fighting for higher environmental water quality standards for the rivers, collaborating with other environmental organizations to remove dams, and working to protect their own river and land rights.

Wabanaki have also continued to care for Nanrantsouak, despite Hikel's perspective that they have not. One of the ways that they have done so is by maintaining its memory through stories and by continuing to visit it as I outlined in Chapter 1. These survivance stories and practices also resist the erasure narrative underlying the Pines Restoration Project. As one of the participants of the gathering said in response to the new monuments:

> "They can't say we haven't been here. We have never not been here. I don't care what they write in their books. I don't care if someone says they came here and didn't see us. I carry this place with me. This place has always been a part of us. Our ancestors are here, and we're connected to them, and through them, we are connected to this place" (August 2012).

Not only does this person reject the authority of written history ("books")

[233] For instance, as Abenaki scholars Lisa and Cassandra Brooks have shown, what we might call the first "environmental protest" in the region took place in 1739, when the Wabanaki leader Polin traveled to Boston to protest the dam on the Presumpscot River to which, he said, he and his people "belonged." He stated that the dam had "barred up" the river and the fish on which his people depended, and had further upset other relationships upstream in his homelands (Brooks and Brooks 2010).

underlying the Pines project (as did Greg Elias in his rejection of the spelling R-A-L-E from "some book"), but he also expresses a critically important understanding of Wabanaki presence, continuity, and relationship with the past that is encapsulated in the Wabanaki concept *tupqan* and in the Corn Mother story. From this perspective, the descendants of Nanrantsouak peoples are connected to this place because the ancestors are buried here and are part of everything that lives here, even the younger trees. This is understood to be a literal, not metaphorical, relationship between generations and living beings. Thus, as Judy articulated, the best way to care for the land is to let the new growth thrive and to visit regularly.

Conclusion:

As I walked the Pines on a warm August afternoon with a group of professors from the University of Maine at Farmington, Karen[234] observed,

> "It's really an odd experience. Like, I'm not really sure what it is I'm supposed to take away from them. You know, usually monuments tell a story. Like, you walk away from them knowing more or less what it is that they memorialize, what they want you to consider or remember. But, these are so strange. It's difficult to figure out what the story is."

While most of the literature on monuments directs us to consider monuments as single-purpose communicative acts, the new monuments at the Pines do not easily fit into this model. First, they are a bit difficult to categorize. They sit along the sides of pathways like waysides that offer bits of historical information. Yet as granite structures that present important pasts, they also act as memorials. At the surface, they also lack a clear overarching narrative. Indeed, the new monuments seem to be an odd

[234] Karen is the wife of a professor at a nearby state college. She is not originally from Maine, but lives not far from Madison. She and her husband have attended the Norridgewock gathering ever since one of the organizers invited them to join as "allies" in 2012.

collection of messages - a call to the beauty of nature, a presentation of archaeological accomplishments, bits of historical documents, a hint of Indians long gone, and few declarations that this place is nationally important. Visitors like Karen may be left with the question, what IS the story that these monuments are trying to tell us?

When I showed a photo of one of the monuments a colleague and asked her what it looked like to her, she responded, “a grave.” I had also had a similar response. Altogether, the plaques create an unusual visual graveyard of history and environmental wisdom scattered among the aging pines and crumbling fire pits. A graveyard is an appropriate visual, I think, because not only do the signs resemble headstones, but they also seem to represent a kind of dead narrative, a flat inscribing of bits and pieces of history that ironically lacks narrative just as it attempts to create one. Its dead flatness comes from its inability to mobilize and breathe life into the stories and memories of the site, or to show how this place is living and lived in all of its multiple co-existing and contradictory story-scapes.

In this chapter, I have argued that the new monuments tell a story that enacts this place as nationally significant in a way that attempts to incorporate the multiple enactments of this place that precede it. As a *place multiple* in a settler colonial context, Nanrantsouak/Old Point/The Pines is inseparable from the layers of politics that have produced its multiplicity. In her construction of the body as multiple, Annemarie Mol (2002) implies that unequal distributions of power shape both the practices people use to enact the body and how they evaluate one another’s actions. In the case of Norridgewock, the Pines Restoration Project attempted to make national, local, and Native Americans enactments of this place cohere in a single enactment of

the Pines as a "place for people to gather and learn about its history." As I have demonstrated in the preceding chapters, not all of the distinct enactments of Nanrantsouak/Old Point/The Pines are compatible; some, such as a place of Wabanaki survivance and a place of Wabanaki erasure, are directly contradictory. As Mol demonstrates, actors must work to make different enactments cohere, and not all of them can; those that are incompatible must be reconfigured so that their co-existence becomes meaningful, or made to compete so that one is discarded for the other.

In order to make the various and at times incompatible enactments of the Pines cohere, Hikel took nationalist historical and archaeological enactments as the baseline against which other possible enactments were evaluated. At times this meant that an enactment needed to be altered or reframed in order for it to be included in public history project. At other times it meant that it needed to be discarded entirely. Hikel then staked this new enactment of a nationally significant and beautiful natural place to the ground in a way that can direct how visitors encounter and think about it. Nationalist historical monuments such as the new monuments at the Pines utilize history as a political tool and serve as "markers on the landscape [that] tell people what sites are important, what is historical, and hence, what is worth noticing by enshrining and segregating them from ordinary places" (Norkunas 2002: 65). In other words, these kinds of monuments create and reinforce particular ideas about what counts as legitimate historical knowledge. As the Senior Archaeologist at the Maine Historic Preservation Commission put it, "so whatever's on those signs is now *the* word" (2013, his emphasis).

"The word" that the Pines Restoration Project offers is a nationalist story that

is grounded firmly in settler colonial logics of indigenous elimination. It relies on and reinforces narratives that locate Wabanaki presence in this place firmly in the past. The Restoration Project included local and Wabanaki perspectives only if it could present them in ways that would not threaten the erasure narratives that undergird the overarching lens through which it enacted the Pines as a place for people to gather and learn. Yet, while the official state-sanctioned enactment of the Pines in this way impacts everyone whose enactments of and relationships to the Pines is in some way threatened and/or silenced by the project, because of social imbalances of power the stakes of the impact and lasting effects of this enactment as "the word" vary. While locals may feel slighted that their knowledge about and relationship to this place is not represented (not to mention that they may rightly feel concerned about how town officials spend their time and money), some Wabanaki peoples are concerned about the widespread impact that narratives of erasure have on their well-being, their political power, and the future generations of Wabanaki peoples.

But this word on the Pines and its history was and is contested. Since its completion in November 2011, the Pines Restoration Project has not been well received even among conservative and patriotic Madison locals. While some locals hoped the project would revive the community use of the picnic area and some locals felt the signage would be a good way to make sure that the future generations would not forget the history that happened *right here*, others lamented that the project was a waste of time and money. Many remained unaware that the project had even been done. Some visitors to the Pines have pointed out that the narratives on the monuments lack a clear and cohesive story, and therefore do not meet their expectations for

historical monuments. While some Wabanaki participants at the Nanrantsouak memorial gathering felt that the monuments had little impact, others felt that the new monuments do indeed contribute to the erasure of their histories. Hikel herself felt that the project had failed. She shared with me her disappointment and frustration that the monuments were not well received in the community and claiming that the problem was that she had "misjudged her audience."

It would be easy to write these responses off as a series of miscommunications or to invoke the old cliché, "you can't please everyone." Instead, in this chapter I have examined how these disagreements over the purpose and success of the Pines Restoration Project reveal underlying assumptions and power imbalances. As Keith Basso noted, we tend to take for granted both places and our relationship to them, and it is often only when something has disturbed the otherwise seemingly normal or natural sense of place that the underlying politics or social work that has gone into producing these places is revealed (Basso 1996). Public history projects, especially those that include monuments, often reveal tensions between local and official history (Norkunas 1993, 2002). The Pines Restoration Project revealed a much more complex set of tensions and underlying politics that upsets easy dichotomies (such as local vs. official, or indian vs. settler) and instead pushes us to think critically about the multiple, overlapping, coexistent, and contradictory enactments of place and engagements with knowledge that shape place-worlds in settler colonial nation-states.

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THE GREAT SPIRIT IS IN ALL THINGS.
HE IS IN THE AIR WE BREATHE.
THE GREAT SPIRIT IS OUR FATHER.
BUT THE EARTH IS OUR MOTHER.
SHE NOURISHES US.
THAT WHICH WE PUT IN THE GROUND
SHE RETURNS TO US
- BIG THUNDER FRANK LORING

As historian Jean O'Brien has pointed out, claims of indigenous erasures fail even as they're being made (2010). This is certainly true when we look more deeply at the interwoven threads of environmentalism and nationalism that shape the Pines Restoration Project. When one of Loring's descendants encountered this monument during one of the Nanrantsouak gatherings, he was overwhelmed with emotion. He said that he felt a connection to the place, it felt right that he had come there and he would continue coming back. While Hikel's Restoration Project at the Pines mobilizes the trope of the vanishing Indian alongside the environmentally noble Indian in a way that reinforces and perpetuates Wabanaki erasure narratives, it also does not dominate place- and meaning-making at the Pines. For instance, while the quote by Frank Loring of Penobscot Nation that appears on a monument alongside the river trail can certainly be read through the lens of vanishing and environmental Indians, when framed instead through the lens of *tupqan* and the Corn Mother story, Loring's message instead acknowledges the literal relationship that Wabanaki peoples have to their homeland and their obligations to care for those lands.

Gathering, remembering, and (re)creating relationships old and new is part of how Wabanaki peoples care for this place. By gathering together, Wabanaki peoples enact Nanrantsouak as a site of survivance, resisting the erasure narratives that the

Pines Restoration Project perpetuates. By gathering together, they “mend the landscape” in a very different way than Hikel’s restoration project, by building social relations to place and to one another. The gathering, then, is a sort of restoration project, a healing that takes place by building on social networks that are simultaneously new and modeled on the historical networks of relationships in which Nanrantsouak was inextricably a part. The gathering reinforces relationships between the people and the ancestors who are part of the land at Nanrantsouak.

CONCLUSION

ENACTING A DECOLONIZED PLACE

It seems odd to be wrapping up this study of place-making at a place that is still very much in the making. I find myself wondering, how do you write an end for a story that is on-going? It seems a fitting question, particularly given how much time I have spent thinking about how "end-points" can have lasting effects on people and their sense of history, belonging, and community. Stories about endings have deeply affected all of the place-making practices at this place known variously as Nanrantsouak, Norridgewock, Old Point, and the Pines.

The attack on the Old Point Norridgewock mission village in 1724 has often been crafted as an end-point: the end of the war, the end of French and Wabanaki claim to the land, the end of the Norridgewock tribe, people, or village, and the end of Wabanaki presence in this part of Maine. When stories enact the attack on Norridgewock in 1724 as an end point, they enable erasure narratives that shape how people interact with and enact this place in the years thereafter. They enable historians, archaeologists, and locals to construct this place as a place absent of Indians and of Indian claims to the land. This absence frames other enactments of this place – as a place that contains an Indian past, as a nationally significant place, as a place of local belonging. Even those who do not take 1724 to be an absolute end-point are affected by the pervasiveness of the stories and enactments of place that do, as they face and at times resist those enactments of erasure. This is the power of the settler colonial as a structure, rather than an event – it continues to shape place-making, history, and

belonging in a myriad of ways even long after the initial experiences of violence and dispossession. Stories about endings and now-taken-for-granted endpoints become pivotal linchpins in such a structure, rendering it commonsense.

Yet, not all enactments of this place need to rely on the construction of the 1724 attack as an end-point. Wabanaki stories present the attack as a significant moment of change rather than an end. These stories recall the violence that the ancestors experienced and they mourn those who were killed, however they also remember the people who survived and carried Nanrantsouak with them wherever they and their descendants traveled. These stories enable different enactments of this place - as a place of violence, yes, but also as a place of Wabanaki survivance and as a place that holds the potential for renewed Wabanaki presence.

In this dissertation, I have grappled with what it means to think about this place as a place multiple. I have sought to unpack how this place has come to have vastly different and at times contradictory meanings for different people. This multiplicity emerges despite that all these meanings are shaped in some way not only by the same settler colonial context but also by the same particular past, that is the fact that this was once a Wabanaki village and mission town that the English destroyed in 1724.

Yet, as I have demonstrated, people attribute different meanings to that "same" past in different contexts and thus mobilize that past to enact place in different ways. Some enact this place as a place of Wabanaki erasure and settler replacement, others as a marker of Wabanaki survivance. The fact that the erasure narrative is more pervasive than the narratives of continuity indicates that settler colonial productions of place, history, and community produce power imbalances that render some (settler)

productions of place and history more legitimate than others. This has made it possible for many different enactments of this place to appear *as if* they are part of a single story. For instance, the enactments of this place as an end-point have collectively served as a totalizing narrative that overpowers other enactments of this place. In this way, the erasure narrative itself becomes a structuring process, the context that frames other enactments of this place as they either perpetuate or react to it.

In the case of history and place-making in the Kennebec River Valley, the pervasiveness of Wabanaki erasure narratives that are grounded in stories about the 1724 attack on Norridgewock have enabled locals to claim Indian history as their own heritage, both national and local, as I demonstrated in Chapters 2 & 3. At times this claim is made to the detriment of Wabanaki peoples and their ongoing histories and connections to this place.

For instance, the neighboring school district, Norridgewock and Skowhegan have "the Indians" as their nickname and team mascot.[235] In recent years, towns all over Maine have changed their Indian-themed mascots at the request of Wabanaki peoples. Skowhegan, however, has refused,[236] despite a large and growing campaign of Wabanaki peoples and allies pressuring the town to change the mascot. The Maine chapter of the #notyourmascot campaign has been spearheaded by members of one of the Nanrantsouak descendent families at Penobscot, who have regularly reminded supporters of the "Indian" team name that Skowhegan is part of the lands they call

[235] When my mother was in high school, the Skowhegan Indians were the biggest rival football team of the Madison Bulldogs and the annual rival game was one of the biggest events in town. As part of the pep rally leading up to the game, Madison Bulldog fans would burn an effigy of "an Indian," while Skowhegan Indian fans recited chants threatening the Bulldog fans with scalping.
[236] To date, Skowhegan remains the only "Indian" public school team name and mascot in the state. A few other towns in Maine continue to include official and unofficial "Indian" themes in their team sports, but use different official team names, such as "the Warriors."

home. Supporters of the team name take for granted the pervasive erasure narratives in the area and discredit the Wabanaki people who are trying to change the mascot by claiming that these are people "from away," and therefore have no business intervening in local affairs.[237] In support of their position, they have also constructed not only the team name, but also the very Indian history of Skowhegan that they claim inspired it, as *their* heritage, a position that is made possible by the same settler colonial structuring processes that enabled Norridgewock to be enacted as national and local heritage.

When we frame these differences as differences of perspective, we also take for granted the structuring processes that underlie these differences in the first place. Framing these differences as differences of "perspective" leads people to see differences that are products of social inequality as simple differences of point-of-view, creating an us vs. them explanatory model that can further naturalize social structures of inequality. Given the unequal distributions of power that settler colonialism sets up and perpetuates, this has widespread ramifications, as the example of the Skowhegan Indians mascot conflict illustrates.

By asking, "How do people *enact* particular places?" in this ethnography, I have attempted to move away from explanatory models that take these different engagements with place and history to be the result of different cultural perspectives. As I see it, this move does three things:

1) It facilitates an understanding of how places are different for different people without assuming an underlying sameness from which these differences

[237] One of the pro-Indian team name arguments acknowledges the claim that Indian mascots are detrimental, but claims that the Skowhegan Indians are different because it is a "nickname" not a mascot.

branch. This also helps us to take seriously the deep personal and communal connections that people have with place while acknowledging how colonial pasts have shaped these connections in various and unequal ways.

2) It creates a space from which to explore the relationship between place-making and community-making, rather than taking for granted communities, cultures, or other groups as the necessary starting point for place- and meaning-making.

3) It allows us to denaturalize the settler colonial structuring process and show its contingencies in order to open up possibilities for intervening.

While I have found it productive to move away from perspective and focus on practice to examine how different practices enact place in slightly (or dramatically) distinct ways, I am nonetheless left with a tension between enactment and perspective that resists easy resolution. In some ways, the distinction that I have drawn in this work between perspectives and practices is overly sharp. For the purposes of examining what possibilities open up when we shift our analytic focus from how places are *imagined* to how they are *done*, I think this has been a valuable move. But as my chapters suggest, I am inclined to conclude that perspective and practice closely inform one another. This raises questions for further investigation: What is the relationship between perspective and practice? How might parsing out this relationship shed new light on settler colonial logics of elimination and better enable decolonial interventions into the multiplicities of place- and meaning-making practices that reinforce and perpetuate these logics?

As Linda Tuhiwai Smith wrote, one of the goals of decolonizing methodologies is to "[transform] our colonized views of our own history (as written by the West), [which] in turn requires a theory or approach which helps us to engage with, understand, and then act upon history" (1999: 34). For me, undertaking a decolonial

approach has meant returning home to my own communities to unpack layers of complex history, memory, and place-making that have shaped my family history, my hometown, and the wider network of relations of which I am a part. This approach was a way for me to use my own position and memory as a descendant of Wabanaki peoples whose family carried the stories of this place on the one hand but who are and were also locals to this town on the other. It was a chance for me to scrutinize settler narratives, unsettle some of the taken-for-granted assumptions about this place, and to open up a space to question and perhaps disrupt the ongoing impacts of those narratives.

As a place that has been enacted for so long as a marker of the end of indigenous presence in the Kennebec River Valley, Nanrantsouak/Old Point/the Pines is a critical place for acts of reclamation and revitalization that can decolonize. This is not undoing, per se. You cannot undo the violence that was done. But you can mobilize this violence in a different way that can change its meaning and its presumed outcome. The destruction of Nanrantsouak and the violent deaths of the people in 1724 is not the end of the story. The people continued, they remembered, and they returned in the form of their descendants and relations. Today, these people are engaged in enacting this place as a place of gathering and a place of survivance. With their gathering together, they draw on the past to create a future in this place, once again enacting Nanrantsouak as a Wabanaki place. It is a striking reminder that while erasure narratives have persisted, so too have Wabanaki peoples endured and even thrived, resisting these erasures with their presence, their coming together, and their acts of remembrance.

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The sun shines brightly overhead as we make our way to the planting fields, where the three sisters mound garden, planted and tended by Wabanaki women and their families, are thriving in this soil for the first time in hundreds of years. As part of our annual memorial gathering at Nanrantsouak, we have come together to see the reclamation work that the women have been engaged in and remember the families who once called this place home. On the way past the farm house, one of our group stops to talk to the farmer who has made this all possible by offering to let the women plant on his land. As one of the women describes the relationship that they had all built together, "he has been so wonderful, letting us alone to do our work, but also offering genuine interest and support. We are learning a lot from one another. It is a wonderful partnership."

When we arrive at the fields on the bank of the Sandy River, just upriver from where the Sandy flows into the Kennebec at Nanrantsouak, we meet up with the other women who have been tending the plants all summer. "We try to check on them every week or two," one of the women tells us, "but they are learning how care for themselves, just as they should do. Our ancestors used to leave them for long periods of time." Karyn,[238] one of the women who started the project, reminds us that "we are working with soil that has been under the plow for over two hundred years. It's going to take some time for us to get it to be able to support our kind of agriculture again. But we are learning all the time, and the plants are learning as well, and we are teaching one another. It's really amazing! And what's even more amazing, [the farmer]'s learning with us!"

The pinkish tufts of the Abenaki Rose corn flutter in the summer breeze. The beans are beginning their climb up the cornstalks and the Algonquin squash spreads out across the mounds at the corn's feet, soaking up the sun.

Nearby, sunchoke and blackberry grow at the edges of the field. Below the bank, the swift-running shallows of the Sandy offers promise of plentiful fish in the spring. This was certainly a good place to live. Now, by planting and tending the three sisters mound garden, camping alongside the fields on the riverbank, swimming in the waters below, and telling stories and sharing knowledge together on this land, the women are enacting this place as a Wabanaki place in a way that is both new and modeled after their ancestors.

As I stand with my feet in the water looking downriver towards Nanrantsouak, I cannot help but think about how this place is deeply connected to that one. The families who cared for these fields would have been tied to the families at Nanrantsouak; they would have spent time there trading food, goods, and news. They may have traveled together and they certainly fought to protect their lands and

[238] Karyn identifies herself as a descendent of Wabanaki families who once lived in the Kennebec and Sandy River valleys.

peoples together. In a striking parallel, most of the women who have been working these fields are descendants of people who once lived on these shores and feel as though they have returned home. As Karyn expressed, "I feel so at home when I'm here. It's like, this is where I'm supposed to be."

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When I think about the day I visited the planting fields, I am struck by Karyn's comment about the soil: "We are working with soil that has been under the plow for over two hundred years. It's going to take some time and some work, but we're learning…." The decolonial scholarship in which many of us are engaged is much the same. Sometimes you find unexpected materials in the soil. Sometimes the crops do not do as well as they should because there are not enough nutrients to sustain them. But you and the plants learn from all of this and adapt. As the women explained, "this year we may not get much food from the fields but we will get the seeds that have learned from this land. And next year, the plants will be more familiar with the land and with us and they will do even better."

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